A comparative analysis of conventional themes of police culture perceptions: A sample of South African Police Service 'detectives' and 'patrol officers'

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Masters dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science in Criminology and Forensic Studies, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), is my own original work and has not been submitted to any other institution, and that all the sources consulted or quoted are indicated and acknowledged by means of a comprehensive list of references.

Rivashia Nayager

Dedicated to my beautiful, humble, and loving Grandmother.

You gave me the courage, strength, willpower and ability to question everything around me, I truly would not have accomplished this without you. Hope you are smiling down on me from Heaven.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to report on a proportional examination amid a group of proactive (uniform) officers as well as reactive (detectives/plain clothes) officers from the South African Police Service (hereafter referred to as SAPS) in the Republic of South Africa for gauges exhibiting the presence or absence of conventional public police (sub)culture (herewith referred to as police culture) themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism in terms of Van Maanen's (1975) and Manning's (1989) *metamorphosis* stage of police culture socialisation. The data for the current study were gathered between September 2013 and June 2014.

Using a survey format, the research employed a non-experimental *ex post facto* research design. Overall, the study found relatively strong indicators evincing the presence of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a sample of five hundred and twenty (520) SAPS appointed police officers in the Republic of South Africa. Each of the respondents had a minimum of 10 years' experience in the SAPS. More specifically, the study discovered no statistically significant differences among the police cultures solidarity, isolation and cynicism attitudes of patrol officers (proactive/uniform) and reactive (detectives/plain clothes) police officers.

The findings of the study, although relatively limited, call into question the contemporary fashionable view (Fielding, 1989; Hobbs, 1991; Chan, 1997; Marks, 2005; O'Neil and Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2007; Cockcroft, 2013) that new developments in policing have dramatically changed police culture and that orthodox universal homogenies of police culture are unhelpful, outdated and no longer make any sense. The study reports on a

comparison of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism attitudes among a sample of proactive officers (uniform section) and reactive (detective) SAPS officers in the Republic of South Africa.

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CHAPTER ONE

"No culture can live, if it attempts to be exclusive"
-Mahatma Gandhi

1.1 Introduction

The end of the apartheid era generated massive political, economic and social change for the citizens of South Africa. This was particularly true of government departments dealing with safety and security. During the apartheid era police maintained attitudes and behaviour in favour of segregation and racial differences. On 29 January 1995, the newly appointed National Commissioner of Police, General George Fivaz, was faced with the immense task of transforming current police official structures towards unification within the force and towards the citizens of the South Africa. The Constitution of 1996 further implicitly prescribes in section 205 (3) that objectives of the police service "are to prevent, combat and investigate crime, to maintain public order, to protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property, and to uphold and enforce the law." Service delivery to all citizens is therefore an integral goal of the South African Police Service (SAPS).

The question still remains whether individual officers have significantly changed their distinct attitudes towards policing. The question also arises whether there has been a transformation from suppressing human rights and committing gruesome violations against different racial groups, to a culture of endorsing, reinforcing and protecting the human rights of those that were once infringed upon by police. In addressing these questions, this study attempted to establish if there was a

significant difference in the style of policing amongst reactive (plain clothes) and proactive (uniform) police offers in the SAPS.

There has been continuous movement of late for public police agencies worldwide (Australia, Great Britain, South Africa, Rwanda, and the United States) to alter their paramilitary model of traditional policing (Chan, 1997; Manning, 1997; Bayley & Shearing, 1994). Traditional policing highlights the apprehension of suspects and the arbitrary patrolling and disorganisation of criminal structures, while the new vision of policing highlights accountability and sustainability in establishing partnerships with the community in policing initiatives (O'Neil, Marks & Singh, 2007; Cockcroft, 2013;). Community policing is beneficial as it acts as a deterrent to crime and contributes towards social control (Chan, 1997:49). The transformation of policing is therefore a dramatic departure from the concept of traditional policing As it proposes recognition of a multiplicity of cultures within the police (Bayley & Shearing, 1994:143).

1.2 Research Rationale

Prior to 1994 the South African Police Service, formally known as the South African Police (SAP), was used as a state mechanism to maintain control and enforce apartheid decrees. Post-apartheid saw citizens maintaining past ideologies associated with police officers.

The purpose of the study was therefore to analyse the data that had been collected during Dr J Steyn's (2005 to 2015) study (the metamorphosis stage in 2014) to determine the commonalities or differences amid reactive members (detectives) and proactive members (patrol officers) within the South African Police Service (SAPS) over a 10-year period, i.e., between the 2005 and 2015.

This study was an attempt to contribute towards the narrative of police culture assimilation by establishing whether there were indicators of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism among all police offers and specifically between two police sample groups of South African Police Service (SAPS) police officers with 10 years' experience. Furthermore, this study aimed to compare the attitudes of proactive officers (uniform) with those of reactive officers (plain/ civilian clothing). With reference to the scope of this study, the researcher acknowledges that the majority of reactive officers are referred to as *plain clothes officers*, whilst proactive officers are often those in official uniform. The study focused on the unit difference between reactive and proactive officers. Proactive officers are first in line to respond to a particular situation, hence they respond to the incident, conduct the preliminary investigation and hand over to the reactive branch. Detectives are plain clothes officers who receive a better remuneration package for gathering evidence, conducting in-depth investigations of criminal offences, determining who the perpetrators are, and seeing to the apprehension and charging of criminals.

This study was an attempt to contribute to current knowledge of police culture by comparing the differences between reactive and proactive officers with reference to the police culture themes of isolation, cynicism and solidarity during the metamorphosis time frame in 2014.

1.3 Research Objectives and Hypotheses

Many democratic societies at present insist on a community orientated approach as a defence against crime and as a form of minimizing strain on both the community and the organisation. Studies by Van Maanen (1975), Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, (1983), Manning (1995), and Crank (2004) discovered that insignificant transformations within communities had surfaced (Burger, 2005; Crank, 2007). In this context it was deemed possible that the present SAPS policing technique still derived in part from prior oppressive attitudes and beliefs, thereby generating a contemporary ineffective community-orientated policing style. Research conducted by South African academics such as Potgieter (1987) suggested a lack of enthusiasm towards performing duties and conforming to standards. Smit (1979) discovered that the police force can be regarded as a subculture with unique characteristics, values and attitudes, and argued that occupational socialisation is initiated during training and interaction with fellow police officers.

Past researchers have engaged the use of themes as a form of understanding the complexity of police culture. Studies by Crank (2004), Christensen and Crank (2001), McNulty (1994), Skolnick (1994), Shearing and Ericson (1991), Manning (1989), Bayley

and Bittner (1984), Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983), Van Maanen (1978), and Niederhoffer (1967) have provided the foundations of dependability and conviction to more recent studies. To date, themes such as solidarity, isolation and cynicism remain prominent and take precedence in comparison to conventional themes, for example race, economic status and gender in police culture research.

The **primary objective** of the current study was to investigate the presence of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism among proactive and reactive police representatives. Furthermore, it aimed to establish the prevalence of the organisational themes on the respective groups in the sample during the metamorphosis stage of Dr Steyn's 10-year study (2005-2015).

The secondary objective was to establish if a sample of SAPS police officers was defined by their occupation and, if so, whether this had implications for the organisation and the current application of community policing.

1.3.1 Research questions

To identify sub-cultural differentiation, scholarly studies have tended to inspect police culture during conditions of social and political turmoil (Glaeser, 2000; Marks, 2005), or have indulged in bias, prejudice and intolerance (Foster, Newburn & Souhami, 2005; Miller, Forest & Jurik, 2003; Chan, 1997; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983). However, none have reflected on 'proactive/uniform' and 'reactive/detective' police sub-cultural divides. The primary goal of the current study was to evaluate attitudes within police culture with reference to the themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism by investigating data on a sample of SAPS police officers with 10 years' experience. More specifically, the study attempted to address the questions: *Does a*

sample of proactive 'uniform' officers in the SAPS elicit different levels of police culture attitudes when compared to a sample of reactive 'plain clothes' officers in the SAPS?

1.3.2 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: There is a presence of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism among SAPS reactive officers (plain clothes) and proactive officers (uniform officers) with 10 years' experience.

Hypothesis 2: Proactive officers ('uniform officers') in the SAPS with ten 10 years' experience have different attitudes towards the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism compared to a sample of reactive officers ('plain clothes') in the SAPS with ten 10 years' experience.

1.4 Conceptualization of concepts

In order to achieve on understanding of the dynamics of the phenomenon under study, it is essential that concepts are clearly defined within the context of the study. All independent and dependent variables are further defined to ensure clarity regarding their measurement.

Theme

The term 'theme' can be defined as recurring behaviour and values (Crank, 2004) whereas the concept of culture-theme embodies the fusion of cultural elements. Manning (1989) distinguishes locales of a shared occupational activity. According to Crank (2004), themes have a tendency to blend together many cultural elements. First, they are behavioural as they transpire on the ordinary undertaking of police work and derive their meaning from routine and

ordinary police circadian (or patterns). Second, themes are a way of reflecting appropriate activity, or the sentiments that are associated with the activity. Third, themes imply social and organisational structure.

SAPS

The South African Police Service (SAPS) was instituted on the 27th of January 1995 in terms of section 214 of the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993. The SAPS, under section 205 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), was instated "to thwart, resist and reconnoitre crime, conserve public harmony, safeguard the populaces of the Republic and their property, and uphold and implement the law".

SAPS Member

A South African citizen who has completed training at the SAPS training academy and is employed by the South African Police Service. For the purposes of the current study, a SAPS police official is a personage that was conscripted by the officialdom, efficaciously realized basic training (college training [6 months] and field training [6 months]) (January 2005 until December 2005), and subsequently appointed as such in terms of the South African Police Service Act (1995), and at the time of effecting the study, posted within one of the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa. Chapter 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) recognizes nine *provinces* within South Africa, viz. Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, North West, Northern Cape and Western Cape.

SAPS officer attitudes

Negative or positive opinions towards the questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism in SAPS officers at

the metamorphosis stage. Generally, views on behaviour are expressed as attitudes represent perceptive evaluations (favourable or unfavourable) of statements made on a 30-item questionnaire that measured the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

reactive members (detectives)

According to the Merriam Webster dictionary (2015), a reactive officer is "one employed or engaged in detecting lawbreakers or in getting information that is not readily or publicly accessible". Detectives investigate crime, collect evidence, observe and conduct interviews with victims and suspects, compose written reports and prepare cases for court.

proactive members

Proactive officers are expected to proactively be involved (Bullock et al., 2006) with the community in establishing methods to effectively prevent crime (Alderson, 1977; Greene & Mastrofski, 1988). According to the Merriam Webster dictionary (2015) patrol officers are defined as "a person whose job it is to enforce laws, investigate crimes, and make arrests: a member of the police". Bayley (1986) and Smith et al. (2001) found a varied possibility of police officers that remained dominated by patrol logic. Police are given instructions to take control of law enforcement, make arrests and deal with perpetrators. Proactive officers enforce laws, respond to emergency calls, patrol assigned areas and obtain warrants.

Culture

According to Hall and Neitz (1993), the study of culture emerged in ethnographies of primitive civilizations. Culture was conceived broadly in bounded, isolated and stable social entities called cultures, and these cultures

provide the measure of a whole way of life (Redfield, 1939). Schein (2004:2) defines culture as "a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems."

Organisational culture

Schraeder, Tears and Jordan (2005) bridge culture and organisational culture by noting that the latter tends to be unique to a particular organisation, where it is composed of an objective and subjective dimension and concerned with tradition and the nature of shared beliefs and expectations about organisational life. Crank (2004) provides a meaning of culture that furnishes a conduit to works on culture in the main, and from which depictions of police culture appear coherent. Crank (2004:15) terms culture as "a shared sense making. Sense-making with ideational, behavioural, material, social structural and emergent elements such as (1) ideas, knowledge (unverifiable belief) and formula for doing things, (2) behaviour, signs and rituals, (3) humanly fabricated tools including media, (4) social and organisational structures, and (5) the products of social action, including conflicts, that may emerge in concrete interpersonal and inter-social encounters and that may be drawn upon in the further construction of the first four elements of collective sense-making. Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall (2000) indicate police occupational and organisational culture as the work-related principles and moral standards that are shared by most police officers within a particular dominance

(Roberg, Crank, & Kuykendall, 2000).

Police culture

Police culture can be defined by Manning (1995:472) as “occupational cultures contain accepted practices, rules and principles of conduct that are situationally applied and generalized”. Every officer is unique and hence brings forth his or her own perceptions, practices and attributes. That the police are inclined to function in an analogous institution and encounter consistent challenges such as with the courts, the law and suspects could strengthen the argument for universal thematic compatibility. Depending on which components one considers, ideational elements such as values, beliefs and ethics can be distinguished simultaneously in police culture. Police cultural aspects are also complicated by the preferences of the observer. When researchers write about police culture, their values and predispositions are completely intertwined with the standpoints of the membership of whatever police group they are studying. In writing about police culture, academics authenticate it. The values of the observer are not separable from the object of the research, and are fully in place from the moment the researcher uses the word ‘culture’ to describe a group of police officers. The researcher tends to always investigate his or her interaction with the people being studied.

Police subculture

This is the ideology of the existence of cultures within a particular culture. The possibility exists that the police culture may be inhabited by multiple components of police culture. Police subculture, on the other

hand, can be identified by the values introduced by the wider civility in which police officers exist (Roberg, Crank, & Kuykendall, 2000).

Solidarity

This term relates to the development of an 'us versus them' interpretation that encompasses loyalty and support and enforces the concept of 'brotherhood'. It is a mechanism officers use in the attempt of dealing with internal and external occupational challenges that are circadian. One of the most powerful aesthetics of police culture is the sense of solidarity that is shared by its members (Willis, 1990). According to (Crank, 2004; Manning, 1977), solidarity is the powerful bond between police officers that can be described as the glue that holds police culture together. Solidarity serves to sustain police group identity, mark group boundaries, and protect police officers from external oversight (Chan, 2003). Crank (2004) and Coser (1956) further state that police solidarity is a product of conflicts and antagonisms with diverse out-groups that perceivably challenge police authority on a daily basis such as the public, courts, the media, politicians and top ranking police officers. Moreover, it denotes the sheer camaraderie and a general military spiritedness among members. Powerful loyalties emerge in the commonly shared and dangerous effort to control crimes.

Isolation

Police officers feel isolated from their spouses, friends prior to joining the police force, family and their community. Isolation is seen as the after effect of solidarity amongst police officers. Many feel isolated from prior mates, the public, the legal system, and even from their spouses and

families (Drummond, 1976; Skolnick, 1966). Police impose social isolation upon themselves as a means of protection against real and perceived dangers, loss of personal and professional autonomy, and social rejection (Skolnick, 1966:18). Consequently, police officers fittingly socialize with other police or pass time alone, yet again fronting social isolation (Kingshott & Prinsloo, 2004).

Cynicism

It refers to an attitude held by many police officers that depicts pessimism, distrust and doubt. Officers maintain scepticism towards the community they police, the justice system and towards management. Niederhoffer (1967) defines police cynicism as feelings of loathing, envy, and impotent hostility and bitterness that manifest as a state of mind within the individual police official. Left unimpeded, cynicism and its accompanying loss of faith in police work contribute to alienation, job dissatisfaction and corruption. According to Crank (2004:324), cynicism arises promptly in a police official's career and attains maximum potency in the fourth or fifth year, at which instant an official is most susceptible to corruptive influence. Newcomers emulate experienced officers in an effort to shed their status as newcomers (Wilt & Bannon, 1976:40).

1.5 Research Methodology and Procedures

This research was an attempt to enhance the contemporary understanding of policing and the police organisation in South Africa. This study aimed to establish if a distinction existed between the comparative affiliation of reactive (detectives) and proactive (patrol

officers) police officers with reference to the police culture themes of isolation, cynicism and solidarity. Numerous researchers have shown significant interest towards police culture, such as Westley (1953; 1970); Banton (1964); Skolnick (1966; 1994); Niederhoffer (1967); Rubinstein (1973); Van Maanen (1975); Van Maanen (1978); Reiner (1978); Brown (1981); Reuss-Ianni & Ianni (1983); Fielding (1988); Hobbs (1988); Manning (1989); Shearing and Ericson (1991); Brogden and Shearing (1993); Waddington (1999); Paoline III (2003); Crank (2004); Sklansky (2005); Chan (2007); O'Neill, Meyer and Steyn (2009); Loftus (2010); and Cockcroft (2013). Significant distinctions between reactive and proactive officers' attitudes towards police culture may possibly indicate the presence of influential sub-groups within the police organisation.

The researcher preferentially employed a quantitative and deductive approach as a result of the large number of participants involved in the study. The study determined between dependent and independent variables.

In this longitudinal study, raw data pertaining to the metamorphosis stage (the fourth stage, September 2013) of police acculturation were analysed. The data were obtained from Steyn's (2005) in-depth study on police culture. An in-depth discussion of the research methodology is provided in Chapter Six of this study.

1.5.1 Research sample

Statistically, the sample mean reflected the population mean. It was essential that the sample fell within the 5% variance of the population mean with a 99% confidence level. To assert external validity with the intention of generalizing the findings, standard errors were

reduced and systematic biases were prevented, as presented in Table 1:

Table 1
Research survey items: SAPS police officers' postings and functionality

Patrol Officer (proactive) (Mostly proactive and visible policing duties in uniform)	**Detective (reactive)** (Mostly reactive/crime investigation duties in plain clothing)
Visible Policing Component	Detective Services Component
Crime Intelligence and Protection Services Component	Criminal Record and Forensic Science Services Component
Operational Response Services Component	

The above table indicates the differences between proactive (patrol/uniform) officers and reactive (detective/plain clothes) police officers.

Table 2: Research sample representation (source: Steyn [2005] - Time 4) metamorphosis stage

Total: A combination of detective and patrol officer participants

		% OF TOTAL SAMPLE: Total % of mean population			
No.	Province	Reactive	Proactive	Total	% Of Total Sample
1	Eastern Cape	25	44	69	13.27%
2	Free State	2	31	33	06.34%
3	Gauteng	20	42	62	11.92%
4	KwaZulu-Natal	28	76	104	20.00%
5	Mpumalanga	9	34	43	08.27%
6	North West	10	20	30	05.77%
7	Northern Cape	13	55	68	13.08%
8	Northern Province	10	28	38	07.31%
9	Western Cape	3	70	73	14.04%
		120	400	520	100%

It is essential to note at this point in the report that four participants did not complete the study, hence the complete sample population under report was 516.

1.6 Data Analysis

Numerous computerised statistical techniques were used to transform the raw data into consequential knowledge. To list a few: the Cronbach Alpha reliability test, significance tests, non-parametric tests, correlations, associations and variance were used. These techniques, in conjunction with the data analyses, are discussed in more detail in Chapter Six of this study report.

1.7 Organisation of the Dissertation

Given that the research question, objectives and hypotheses of the study were presented Chapter One, the dissertation is further structured into the following chapters:

Chapter Two: This chapter provides a contextual outline of police culture, with a more defined conceptualization of the origins, implications and maintenance of this phenomenon.

Chapter Three: This chapter converses predisposition and socialization with a core focus on the learning theory and socio-dynamic theory as the theoretical framework within which the study was located.

Chapter Four: Discusses police culture and the police culture themes of isolation, solidarity and cynicism in substantial depth.

Chapter Five: Examines community-orientated policy.

Chapter Six: Provides an in-depth framework within which the research questions, hypotheses, sample and aims/objectives are discussed.

Chapter Seven: Discusses the data analysis of the study.

Chapter Eight: Examines the findings and provides recommendations and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER TWO

"Go to college. Get an education. Understand the law, the profession and our constitution so you understand your responsibility to the people and the trust you are granted – and to stay true to it."
-Sheriff Dave Brown

POLICE CULTURE:

ORIGINS, MAINTENANCE AND IMPLICATIONS

2.1 Introduction

Former studies on police culture by Westley (1953; 1970); Whitaker (1964); Skolnick (1966 & 1994); Niederhoffer (1967); Cain (1973); Rubinstein (1973); Van Maanen (1975); Reiner (1978); Punch (1979); Brown (1981); Holdaway (1983); Reuss-Ianni & Ianni (1983); Klockars (1985); Smith and Grey (1985); Fielding (1988); Hobbs (1988); Bayley and Bittner (1989); Manning (1989); Shearing and Ericson (1991); Young (1991); Brogden and Shearing (1993); Waddington (1999); Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall (2000); Walker (2001); Paoline III (2003); Crank (2004); Sklansky (2005); Steyn (2006); Chan (2007); Meyer and Steyn (2009); Loftus (2010); Cockcroft (2013); and Steyn (2015) have paved the way for innovative and original perspectives on this phenomenon.

The current chapter converses the origins of police culture and the maintenance and implications of police culture. It is essential to present a comprehensive version of police culture and the influence it has on the police organisation and its inhabitants. A look at former research will elucidate the types of policing styles, the attitudes possessed by police officers, and the way in which these styles and attitudes affect the community.

2.2 Origins of Police Culture

The concept of police culture originally emerged from ethnographic studies of routine police officers. These studies discovered the existence of informal practises, norms and values among policing staff (Cain, 1973; Van Maanen, 1978a; Manning, 1977). Police officers populate two types of settings within the policing field, namely the occupational and organisational environments, which were both found to be hostile in certain respects to police officers. Research by Schein (2004) therefore investigated the coping techniques required to manage such hostile environments. Paoline (2003) suggests that the "…fundamental difference between organisational and occupational cultures are [is] that the former are top-down and driven by management whereas the latter are bottom-down and driven by core practitioners", which is a sentiment that Schein (1992) and Van Maanen and Bayley (1985) concur.

2.2.1 Occupational police environment

This environment represents the association police officers have with the society or citizens they police. Gregory (1983) conducted a study that found that "the primary factor [that] dictated their [police officers'] values and outlook was the role they undertook, not the organisation that employed them". Therefore, due to antagonistic relations with the community and within the police, studies focused on the potential threats officers faced and the consequential authority they exerted on citizens in works such as , Westley (1970), Bittner (1974), Van Maanen (1974a), Reiner (1985), Brown (1988), Skolnick (1994), Manning (1995) and Crank (2004). The above studies highlight a sense of danger as a key element in the lives and the performance of their duties of a police officers. In efforts to cope with their awareness and possible debilitating response to danger, it is eliminated by categorizing citizens as objects with the intent to inflict

harm on or endanger police officers. Hence the police are authorised to use force when dealing with citizens. Paoline (2003:203) emphasises the significance of this 'power' because "organisational uncertainty is the counterpart to perceived physical danger within an officer's occupational environment". According to (Manning, 1995), officers are constantly expected to maintain decorum during conflict situations.

2.2.2 Organisational police environment

The second environment was the key setting in this research study and refers to the organisational setting which is recognized as the rapport an officer maintains with his/her senior management and the police institute. Schein (1985:150) defines culture in the context of understanding organisations and occupations as "the sharing of beliefs or a consensus of values. The shared social artefacts are not to be considered as synonymous with a particular group's culture but as manifestations of it…"

This particular element focuses on supervision between officers and senior bureaucrats, and the uncertainty or vagueness in the role of law enforcement officers (Skolnick, 1994; Manning, 1995; Chan, 1997). Proactive officers have mandatory procedures, particularly when implementing the law. Officers who do not follow these conditions are penalised and disciplined accordingly. The literature suggests that police officers believe that they are only acknowledged when they are criticised for having committed misdemeanours and are penalised, whereas the 'good' they do for the community go unnoticed. Senior management considers proactive officers to be inconsistent in executing legislation at a primary level (Van Maanen, 1974b; Skolnick, 1994).

Police officers are faced with constant danger in the communities where they work, but also with constant uncertainty and the vindictive dispositions from senior management or higher ranking

individuals. An organisational setting demands character or function recognition. In this context, prior enquiry explored three distinctive functions of a police officer. The first is order maintenance, followed by law enforcement and service. Conventional focus on crime statistics indicators, diverse entities of the police and appraisals emphasise the second function of police, leaving aspects of 'order maintenance' and 'service' neglected.

One needs to consider the constant feeling of danger and vulnerability that officers experience along with intimidation from bureaucrats in an occupational environment and constant inspection and criticism in an organisational environment. Police officers are thus confronted with high levels of anxiety, stress, depression, feelings of inadequacy and no suitable coping mechanisms.

2.3 Perceptions of Police Culture

Officers attempt to diminish the prospect of danger by means of technique management. Coping mechanisms are used to evade occupational and organisational stressors via attitudes and behaviours in a work-related environment. In the works of Westley (1970), Van Maanen, (1974b), Reuss-Ianni (1983) and Skolnick (1994), two coping mechanisms are noted: being suspicious, and preserving an edge in an occupational environment. The organisational setting promotes the maintenance of a low profile and loyalty towards the crime fighter persona. The occupational atmosphere can be attributed to the high level of suspicion that police officers exhibit. In this context Cockcroft (2010: 57) indicates that "police suspicion is supported by both the institutional moulding of the officer through training and the practical strategies that police develop for dealing with the unpredictable potential dangers that their work subjects them to."

Police officers evince attitudes of suspicion and distrust towards the community and citizens; however, researchers have found that officers are suspicious and apprehensive towards fellow officers as well. Another perception is elucidated by Cain (1973:290-230), who refers to the 'easing behaviours' of rural and urban police officers as officers tend to slack off during working hours and use occupational hours for personal errands. She states that distrust and frustration are established towards police officers who "accept gifts of refreshments and foodstuffs from members of the public" and officers who spend time lavishly on 'easing behaviour' as they "take trips to police stations and cafes for cups of tea or…a drink with plain-clothes colleagues", while urban officers are considered to be "both unpleasant and monotonous" (Cain, 1973:229). This creates additional problems with public perception of police since they abuse government facilities (vehicles, canteens etc.) for leisure pursuits and personal errands.

The presence of potential danger sustains the element of remaining on edge, which resembles an adrenaline rush. Officers use influential power and authority to dominate and take precedence over citizens (Van Maanen, 1974b). Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983:272) advocate a contemporary perspective that is supported by many academics in the following expression: "...the decline of a unifying singular police culture [is] a major cause of stress within policing" thereby contributing to coping strategies.

According to (Van Maanen, 1994b), the use of one coping mechanism in the police organisational environment is to maintain a low profile and evade any type of behaviour that will encourage interest from senior executives. Officers tend to promote a 'lie-low' and 'cover-your-ass' attitude, also known as the 'CYA syndrome' (Herbert, 1997:805). This form of

policing creates a barrier for protection against possible risk. Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983:254) ratify the prevalent view that "social and political forces have weakened the character, performance, and effectiveness of police work and that, as a result, the policing function is under strong attack".

In order for officers to cope, they use the preceding image which is recognised and preserved in every police department in their fight against crime (Fielding, 1988). According to (Van Maanen (1974b) and Paoline (2001), officers have embraced police culture that endorses 'law enforcement' and rejects 'order maintenance' and 'service'. It is evident that the coping techniques of police culture are transferred to new recruits at training centres, and thereafter to police stations through the socialisation process.

2.4 Implications of Police Culture

Police consider 'outsiders', specifically researchers and academics, to have no comprehension of police work (Van Maanen, 1974b). Police officers assume that the public and outsiders are naïve and cannot grasp the nature of police work, or are unable to put themselves in the 'shoes' of police officers. Police officers deem citizens to be uncooperative, disobliging and perverse during interactions with police. Moreover, the deem citizens as demanding and constantly critical of police work (Waddington, 1999a). The work of Waddington (1999a) provides an extremely useful perspective on police brutality. According to Onishi (2016), police brutality in South Africa should not be traced back to the police culture of the past, but rather to the current system, twenty and more years into democracy, when citizens still live in fear of the police.

Police culture further exhibits international ideologies such as 'watch your partner's back', 'don't snitch on one of your own', 'if you get caught off-base don't implicate anyone else', and

‘watch out for your partner or buddy first before anyone else’ (Reuss-Ianni,1983:15; Paoline, 2001). Proactive officers are persuaded to create affiliations with citizens while considering them to be the reason for their perceived feelings of being threatened and in danger. Also, patrol officers may harbour negative attitudes towards citizens but have to practise good communication with the public.

These conflicts can be seen as a ‘catch 22’ scenario, and police officers tend to reduce the anxiety that they are faced with by adapting to police culture coping techniques, or ‘police think’, in which they deteriorate in their duties and police work (Steyn, 2008). It has therefore become a necessity that police regulations be modified and amended to reach an amalgamation between community and police. This is often scorned as an idealistic outcome; however, it is hindered by the police organisation and occupation sub-cultures (Steyn, 2008).

2.5 Conclusion

The current chapter provided insight into police culture with specific reference to its derivations, and maintenance. The perceptions about and implications of police culture were briefly highlighted in the light of findings by past literature. The next chapter provides a reflection on the predisposition and socialisation schools of thought and the impact of these perspectives on scholarly discourse of police culture.

CHAPTER THREE

"The essence of science is that it is always willing to abandon a given idea for a better one; the essence of theology is that it holds its truths to be eternal and immutable." — H.L. Mencken

PREDISPOSITION AND SOCIALISATION

3.1 Introduction

Central to the discussion of police culture are questions of the foundations of police officer attitudes and values. Two opposing explanatory perspectives have developed over the years in an effort to answer this question, namely the predisposition and socialisation schools. A third school thought that emerged more recently argues that personal characteristics have become a firm criterion for police officer recruitment.

Supporters of the predisposition school argue that police officer behaviour is primarily explained by the personality characteristics (traits), values, and attitudes that individuals bring to the occupation at the time of employment. The theory further emphasizes that the police occupation attracts people with certain attitudes and beliefs (Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2005), which is a phenomenon that accounts for the high degree of shared orientations among police officers. Since the 1970s, research by American and British police scholars (Rokeach, Miller & Snyder, 1971; Lefkowitz, 1975; Cook, 1977; Reiner, 1978; Cochran & Butler, 1980; Colman & Gorman, 1982; Gudjonsson & Adlam, 1983; Brown & Willis, 1985; Carpenter & Raza, 1987; Zhao, He & Lovrich, 1998; Caldero & Crank, 2000; Caldero & Larose, 2003) has uncovered varying degrees of support for the model.

Other policing scholars suggest that police culture is determined more by shared work experiences and peers rather than by pre-employment values and attitudes (Roberg et al., 2005). These individuals constitute the socialisation perspective. This perspective is exemplified in the works of various scholars such as Skolnick (1966), Niederhoffer (1967), Van Maanen (1973, 1974, 1975), Genz and Lester (1976), and Fielding (1988) and has a strong influence on general thinking regarding the formation of police culture values. According to Van Maanen (1975), new police recruits go through various stages of socialisation, which is a process that fully integrates them into the culture's beliefs, attitudes and values. This begins with a phase of anticipatory socialisation, or *choice*, during which period recruits prepare themselves for entering the organisation by adopting their interpretation of its values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge.

Choice is followed by a period that Manning (1989) defines as *admittance* into the organisation, predominantly during the early training phase (police academy/college). This is often a difficult phase if new recruits' expectations of their job and the organisation have been unrealistic. The newcomer's experiences during admittance are mediated by environmental, organisational, relevant-group, task, and individual factors. Admittance is then followed by a period of *encounter*, often a 'field training' experience, during which the newcomer is introduced to the complexities of the 'street'. It is during the field training phase that the recruit is most susceptible to attitude change (Manning, 1989). Finally, continued membership in the organisation results in a *metamorphosis* on the part of the newcomer. At this point organisational socialisation is essentially complete although it may continue to be refined over ensuing years (Van Maanen, 1975).

A third, 'hybrid' school of thought (Steyn, 2006, 2007, 2009) has risen relatively recently, with the primary premise that police establishments recruit individuals with personality traits, values, and attitudes in support of the organisations' culture and that these predispositions, in turn, are fortified and reinforced by policing culture.

Some of the essential characteristics of community policing entail conflict resolution, problem solving, diplomacy, and community immersion. As comprehension of the situation is imperative, conventional methods of managing a police organisation do not support the affiliation of diverse thinkers. Long standing officers have an entrenched set of values, principles and moral standings (Van Maanen, 1975). It is therefore crucial that officers evince honourable attitudes that are utilised in fostering beneficial relations with the community.

3.2 Predisposition

Advocates of the predisposition ideology propose that police officers' attitudes and behaviours are products of morals, values, physiognomies and qualities embodied by a police officer prior to training and assimilation into the police organisation. The police force therefore entices individuals with particular characteristic and attitudes. Subsequently, there has been an abundance of research in favour of the predisposition ideology (Rokeach, Miller & Snyder, 1971; Rokeach, 1973; Fenster & Locke, 1973; Reiner, 1978; Caldero & Larose, 2001; Adlam, 1980; Cochrane & Butler, 1980; Colman & Gorman, 1982; Brown & Willis, 1985; Gudjonsson & Clark, 1986; Carpenter & Raza, 1987; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Caldero, 1997; Crank & Caldero, 1999; Caldero & Crank, 2000). Researchers have found personalities of cynical, conventionalism, suspicion and authoritative behaviour.

These attitudes are contradictory to the essential characteristics and traits that are necessary to fulfil a meaningful and functional relationship with the public; attitudes such as willingness to engage in problem solving skills, conflict resolution, the ability to communicate with and understand individuals outside the police force, sensitivity towards problems experienced by the community at large, and the intelligence and agility to function independently and as a team, to name but a few. The SAPS recruit selection process is therefore under critique, as it is formulated in a way that makes anyone eligible to be a police officer. The procedures of novice selection may vary but are essentially the same.

Initially the process would begin with the *vetting of applications;* the purpose of this screening is to identify whether recruits meet the prerequisites and conditions stipulated by the academy and police force. Some of the compulsory requirements are: Recruits are compelled to be of South African Nationality, have no criminal record, have a valid motor vehicle license, and completed secondary education (i.e., obtained a senior certificate / passed Matric). The next step involves a *accuracy and background check* which entails the inspection of all documentation and references to ensure good character and honesty. *Reading, writing, comprehension and academic tests* follow next, the purpose of which is to ensure the trainee has the ability to comprehend and meet the the requirements for executing police work such as judgement, rationality, reasonability, and so on. This step is followed by the *meeting and conduction of interviews* step to assess the recruit's conduct, professionalism, communicative skills, and attitudes. The *psychological examination* step appears as the most crucial and integral part if the recruitment process and assists in identifying if the candidate is mentally suitable for the police force. The

recruit's cognition is taken into consideration with the administration of various tests, for example:

- the Anxiety Scale test (IPAT) (depicts personality traits);
- the Minnesota Multiphase Personality Inventory (MMPI) (relates to a comparison of the occupation and the potential recruit);
- the 16-item Personality Factor Questionnaire (16-PF) (identifies abnormal personality traits in recruits and pessimistic attitudes); and
- the Wechler Adult Intelligence Scale III (aids in detecting emotional behaviour and well-being).

One of the most integral components of this process is the *physical assessment* in conjunction with related activities, which are essential for an officer to meet occupation specifications.

3.3 Socialisation

Various studies have been conducted on police socialisation such as Nierderhoffer (1967), Westley (1970), Van Maanen (1975), Fielding (1988), and Chan (2003) and Roberg et al. (2005), that advocate the socialisation approach rather than the predisposition approach for the recruitment of police officers. Researchers in the field suggest that police behaviour is determined by encounters with work peers and experiences rather than by predisposed attitudes prior to recruitment (Roberg et al., 2005; Van Maanen, 1975; Westley, 1970).

Socialisation theory fundamentally suggests that officers are socialised by means of their occupational experiences in the police force. This theory applies to any type of behaviour that is described as being 'learned' in an occupational environment. Understanding the community of

peers in the police force thus aids in establishing relations with members in the police. It is essentially a beneficial socialising trait; however, this trait can turn negative when corrupt behaviour by officers that is learned from well-established peers is encouraged.

Socialisation is used as a technique by recruits to gain knowledge, skills and the necessary 'know-how' in the police organisation. For new police recruits it is not only essential to learn various aspects of the law, policies, regulations and documentation, but it is also imperative that they comprehend and produce the skills, attitudes and behaviour that are compatible with their peers and other members of the police force. Socialisation begins at the selection process, follows through recruitment and basic training in the academy, and eventually leads to socialisation as a constable once the recruit is stationed.

Previous research has depicted that police trainees start off positively and gradually attain cynical attitudes and behaviour towards the police organisation. Nevertheless, they remain focused on their occupation and maintain rapport with their peers (Van Maanen, 1975). Van Maanen (1976) explored the stages of socialisation that are experienced by a recruit: during the commencement of training recruits experience an *anticipatory socialisation* which persuades novices to acquire attitudes, values, morals and knowledge endorsed by the police organisation. The next phase is the *introductory phase* which is a difficult phase if officers have unrealistic perspectives about the organisation. This phase initiates the behaviour and attitudes acquired in the *anticipatory socialisation* stage. The *encounter phase* refers to the environment and the encounters the recruit has with the 'street'. Finally, the trainee has to contend with the *metamorphosis phase* in which organisational change becomes evident in an officer's attitudes and behaviour (Van Maanen, 1976).

The necessary change that is experienced in the last stage is what the current study focused on. Socialisation tactics such as collective, formal, sequential and fixed are used by novices (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Recruits are groomed for the police organisation and are 'cleansed' of characteristics that do not accentuate the police institution. Schein (1985) suggests theories that are useful in unlocking police culture, with particular reference to the socio-dynamic theory (which focuses primarily on team comprehension and attitudes) and the learning theory (which focuses on the learnt experiences of police officers, with cultural aspects that are enforced and the many that are removed).

3.3.1 Socio-dynamic theory

This particular theory explores the interpersonal and emotional progressions that contribute towards reasons behind comprehension and the development of perspectives in a group.

This theory complements Van Maanen's outlook on the *introductory phase* and views the recruits' first encounter with police culture as an amalgamation. Schein (1985) proposes that in social circumstances individuals require three elements for sustenance: the need for *inclusion;* the ability to be seen and *recognised*; and *presence* within the group. The socio-dynamic theory also recognises the need for control over one's environment versus the inability to manage one's environment.

The need for acceptance and the capability to conform and be accepted are vital according to this theory, because if any one of the above is left unaddressed, it can lead to unease whereas, if realised, a combination of these elements can create a constructive vigour. Van Maanen (1973) places emphasis on group punishment and discipline of recruits, as this implies every member is

accountable for all members of the team; this leads to an intensification of solidarity amid members. Van Maanen (1974) states that the attitude of 'stay low and avoid trouble unless real police work is called for' applies to the ideology that police officers only work if necessity calls.

With intense training, recruits produce different mechanisms to manage their emotions. Their cultural values and perspectives prior to the academy are gradually transformed to accommodate and undertake the values and attitudes of the police organisation. Their acceptance of the 'way of life' that is accomplished by most in the training academy is sometimes not for everyone, thus recruits that cannot manage the conversion are ushered out whilst others choose to remain and adjust their own perspectives.

Fielding (1988) advises that new recruits are prompted by knowledgeable police officers who provide guidance towards adverse operating techniques that could possibly infringe the rules, regulations and procedures permitted in the police establishment. This is described as being contradictory as trainees are educated via theory that diverges from the practical training and supervision that they obtain from their instructors. Over time, novices develop disdain for the concepts and notions that are present in academic literature, and tend to rely only on the practical knowledge that they gain in what is somewhat of a 'learn-as-you-go process' (Fielding, 1988).

Van Maanen (1973:415) suggests that recruits will develop their own rules and codes in order to ensure their survival in the organisation. Trainees are given opportunities to interact with those around them and gain a sense of community, thereby rejecting the wider society they inhabit.

According to Schein (1985:156), recruits are associated with a "complex interaction involving both conscious and unconscious elements."

3.3.2 Learning theory

Culture is learned from the institution or organisation that an individual or individuals are exposed to, and alteration in behaviours occurs along with changes in emotions and intellectual reasoning. Schein (1985) proposes two ways in which culture is transmitted: the first is through positive implementation (problem solving) which is considered to be rewarding and beneficial, and the second is through negative reinforcement or anxiety avoidance. An action is thus attainable if it is continuously repeated to achieve the desired results.

Research has shown that negative reinforcement ordinarily allows police officers to categorise citizens and situations they stumble upon according to what they have learnt about them. For example, officers experience anxiety due to their operational role and are exposed to dangerous and insecure environments; therefore they have to be primed for the different ways an incident might unfold. Officers are tasked with predicting the potential behaviour of citizens they encounter on a daily basis. Muir (1977:157) states that police have to learn to distinguish among people swiftly in order to determine if they are 'rebelliously' or 'cooperatively' inclined.

The bond of solidarity enhances the relationships of members and acts as a tool to evade social anxiety and isolation. The 'code of silence' is an essential mechanism in danger and anxiety avoidance. It is pertinent that groups avoid hostility and opposition even if the postulations were incorrect. Officers tend to doubt citizens prior to the acknowledgement of reality or certainty. Officers approach every situation in a suspicious manner. The police mind does not allow for

police officers to omit or overlook anyone, including a police officer's own family. Banton (1964:207) articulated that "the police mind means that you suspect your grandmother and that's about the strength of it". In terms of anxiety-avoidance, researchers have found that members are defensive of occupational and group values, beliefs, assumptions and conduct.

3.4 Preceding Socialisation Studies and Research Involving Police Novices in the South African Context

The literature review revealed that only two empirical studies on police culture socialisation had been conducted in the Republic of South Africa prior to this investigation. A comparison of the studies was improbable given that the study by Smit (1979) had been conducted during the apartheid era during the period January – July 1977 involving members of the South African Police (SAP). The latter study exercised a quantitative method involving 500 newcomers and found that social dysfunctions such as cynicism, alienation and marginality were present among these recruits. Smit (1979) suggested that a more practical form of training should be considered. The second study was conducted by Steyn (2006) in democratic South Africa among a new intake of South African Police Service (SAPS) members. The study measured the themes of cynicism, solidarity and isolation among 1 453 new recruits at the time that they began their basic training at six various training facilities in the country. The study found that recruits arrived at the academy with predispositions regarding police work and that training acted to further enhance their attitudes of cynicism, solidarity and isolation. If recruits have already embraced attitudes of cynicism, solidarity and isolation, these attitudes would only escalate in years to come. Interestingly, two books that enable a comprehension of police work were published by Anthony Altbeker entitled *The dirty work of democracy: a year on the streets with*

the SAPS and Monique Marks entitled *Transforming the Robocops: changing police in South Africa* in 2005. These books are primary sources and first time narratives of the daily lives, interactions and behaviour of South African police officers. Both books assisted this author in understanding the circadian behaviour of police.

3.5 Conclusion

Chapter three deliberated divergent schools of thought vis-à-vis socialisation and predisposition as the foundation for behavioural patterns within police culture. The following chapter exhibits the police culture themes of cynicism, solidarity and isolation. The researcher conducted an extensive exploration of current literature on police culture as the foundation for a scholarly exploration into the fundamental themes of police culture, with particular focus on the impact of the factors on policing practice.

CHAPTER FOUR

"Reality is merely an illusion, albeit a very persistent one"
-Albert Einstein

POLICE CULTURE THEMES OF SOLIDARITY, ISOLATION, AND CYNICISM

4.1 Introduction

The concept of police culture began decades ago. Today, various ethnographers and researchers maintain distinct perceptions of police culture within the organisation and the officers that staff it. This chapter explores the composition of police culture.

4.2 Police Culture and Police Subculture

There has been abundant literature on culture over the last few decades (Crank, 2004). Culture was first described in its most basic form when ethnographers observed social components and units among people that inhabited the same vicinity. Culture typically distinguishes the essence of human life in various societies and groups across the globe. However, it is only recently that police culture has been associated with the concept of culture (Crank, 2004). Manning (1989:360) defines culture as "accepted practices, rules, and principles of conduct that are situationally applied and that generalize rationales and beliefs".

Reiner (1992:109) states that police culture is "a pattern of set understandings which help [police officers] to cope with and adjust to the pressures and tensions which confront [them]." Culture can be defined as an assimilated form of human values, beliefs, morals, behaviour and attitudes that are determined by the capacity of comprehending and learning and the ability to transfer

information and knowledge to subsequent generations and descendants (Van Maanen, 1978). With regards to an organisational background, collective attitudes, values and behaviour are the focus of an establishment and essentially comprise the culture of that establishment.

Police culture and subculture are terminologies used to describe the specific characteristics, values, morals, attitudes and behaviour of police officers. Police culture is considered to be collective occupational values and ideologies that are embraced by police officers within their specific occupational environment (Van Maanen,1978). According to Reiner (2000:116), police culture is "generated by distinct experiences associated with specific structural positions", whereas subculture refers to a group/or and groups within a group. Subculture in the police is then the distinguishable differences between members that depict variables within the police culture.

4.3 Organisational and Occupational Culture

Police culture can be assigned to this specific organisational environment and the culture practised by employees and members within this milieu. For example, accountability to the local community is supposed to influence the occupational culture by providing "an alternative reference group, away from the immediate work-group influence of police peers" (Chan, 1997:59). Chan (1997:43) states that organisational culture is "a layer of informal occupational norms and values operating under the apparently rigid hierarchical structure of police organisations" (cited in Cockcroft, 2007:87). O'Neill and Singh (2007:2) suggest that police occupational culture occurs when "police, both public and private, have socially constructed ways of viewing their place in it, and the appropriate action they take in their jobs".

The above studies prompted further exploration into one of the most influential institutions within a country, which is its police organisation. Chan (1997) states that 'cop culture' can be

seen as a more ‘fluid’ concept than previously acknowledged. She places emphasis on police officers’ existing attitudes that shape occupational culture and that influence an individual’s attitudes and behaviour towards occupational realities. The latter author therefore contradicts the perception that all police officers embody the same opinions and understandings. Many police officers adapt differently when trying to cope with organisational stress (Paoline, Myers & Worden, 2000:578).

International literature indicates that changes often occur in a police organisation for no apparent reason. First, it is argued that organisations are consistently in transition and are not ‘empty vessels’ and are therefore able to adapt to new transitions. Second, many organisations such as the police do not give new strategies an opportunity for a transition period, thereby opting for new strategies and policies on a regular basis. Organisational culture can be beneficial to an establishment only if negative attributes are eliminated and replaced with innovation and improvement. Police socialisation occurs at many stages in an officer’s occupational development; it’s an ongoing process that is generally initiated during training (Van Mannen, 1978).

4.4 Police Culture

Waddington (2008:203) defines police culture as “the mix of informal prejudices, values, attitudes, and working practices commonly found among the lower ranks of the police that influence the exercise of discretion. It refers to the police’s solidarity, which may tolerate corruption and resist reform.” Culture plays a vital role in an organisation, particularly in the police organisation if officers are unaware of the dominant limitations it can have on members (Manning, 1989; Crank, 2004). It is evident that law enforcement through policy is completely different from the implementation of the law by means of practice and maintaining public order.

Decisions taken by officers are not solely based on the convictions, attitudes or behaviour of the complainant. The extent of enforcement in a specific community largely depends on the nature of the community that is policed. Manning (1989:360) defines culture as "accepted practices, rules and principles of conduct that are situationally applied." For example, cultural influence on training prompts new recruits to experience rigorous, stressful exertion through training. New recruits consequently have pessimistic attitudes towards superior officers and management.

An individual's behaviour is culturally acceptable and appropriate according to cultural norms and values that are inhibited by the community. A particular action or behaviour is thus considered prior to an action being carried out. Manning (1989) notes that visual and physical actions lead to perceptions of believing in an action. In this context, citizen's interactions have revealed characteristics and traits of discriminatory police attitudes and possible inappropriate conduct towards the public. Attitudes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism composed by officers could portray behaviour of officers towards citizens.

The developing element of culture is imperative, as Chan (1997) suggests:

a) *The magnitude social action* focuses on the repercussions that occur when decisions are made by police officers. A police officer's comprehension of crime can differ and vary amongst officers. This could lead to detrimental effects on society and, as a result, citizens could be arrested leading to a hostile relationship between the police and the community. Chan (1997) goes on to state that officers are not submissive inheritors of culture - on the contrary, they are active in the formation of police culture.

b) *Emergence* suggests that culture can be constructed into various components. It is essential for specific official policing styles to be considered along with the current policing styles that

are exhibited by the police. Emergence assists in initiating the production of affiliations between collective cliques in society.

c) *The occurrence of cultural rudiments* could influence divergence within social groups and relations. The development of finding one's true identity and purpose can further enhance disjunction and elimination from previous adaptations to groups. Former research has stated that disputes assist in the development of cultural identity; however, this contradicts the conventional concepts of solidarity and isolation within police culture. Culture evolving during a strong consistency of solidarity and isolation is improbable and is not relevant in such a constantly developing technological era. For this reason, it is evident that conflict, disputes and segregation are central to the advancement of culture (Chan,1997).

Research and thought on the public police (as opposed to private police - hereafter only referred to as the 'police') have recognised the part that colloquial standards and principles concomitant with its members play in sculpting their daily decisions and practices. Since the pivotal work of William Westley, police ethnographies have traversed numerous eras and remain to be broadly deliberated in current parleys of policing (Westley, 1953 & 1970; Banton, 1964; Skolnick, 1966 & 1994; Niederhoffer, 1967; Wilson, 1968; Cain, 1973; Rubinstein, 1973; Van Maanen, 1975; Reiner, 1978; Punch, 1979; Brown, 1981; Holdaway, 1983; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983; Klockars, 1985; Fielding, 1988; Hobbs, 1988; Bayley & Bittner, 1989; Manning, 1989; Shearing & Ericson, 1991; Brogden & Shearing, 1993; Waddington, 1999; Roberg, Crank & Kuykendall, 2000; Walker, 2001; Paoline III, 2003; Crank, 2004; Sklansky, 2005; Chan, 2007; O'Neill, Marks & Singh, 2007; Meyer & Steyn, 2009; Loftus, 2010; Cockcroft, 2013). These studies emphasise the value of 'police culture' in comprehending the various aspects of policing, including how police officers interact with other individuals. Some have also noted common

derogatory police culture themes, for example, unpredictability (Skolnick, 1994), 'assholes' (Van Maanen, 1978), 'management brass' (Reuss-Ianni and Ianni, 1983), and the liberal court system (Niederhoffer, 1967). These, amongst many others, have been cited so frequently as to seem ubiquitous in literature on police culture.

However, a 'contemporary police culture' school of thought has risen recently. This body of scholars challenges prevailing traditional portrayals of homogeneity and universality within police culture. Enthusiasts of this approach (Fielding, 1989; Hobbs, 1991; Chan, 1997; Marks, 2005; O'Neil and Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2007; Cockcroft, 2013) argue that new developments in policing have dramatically changed police culture and that conventional characterisations do not reflect the complex details of the police character any more, and as such are antiquated, illogical and useless.

The focus of this research is primarily on themes related to attitudes of police officers. It is evident that prior research on police culture has fallen short in identifying indicators of subcultures in the police (Crank, 2004). In other words, police officers imbibe 'cultural' and 'subcultural' attitudes, and the debate on which one is more relevant is completely influenced by an officer's environment. It was Chan (2003) who suggested multiple cultures within the police institution. Contemporary research has published findings on multiple police subcultures in international contexts, yet in South Africa such studies are limited. This has been attributed to the newly developing democracy and the effects of colonisation.

In the present-day, classifying miscellanies and modernisms in policing culture takes precedence in the search for differences; however, studies have either tended to inspect police culture in

conditions of social and political tumult (Marks, 2005; Glaeser, 2000), or have been engrossed in bigotry and other practices of prejudice and intolerance (Foster, Newburn & Souhami, 2005; Miller, Forest & Jurik, 2003; Westmarland, 2001; Chan, 1997) to identify subcultural differentiation (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983).

There have been many developments within policing contexts, some of which could be expected to weaken the cultural expressions of the police. One pivotal development worldwide was the adoption of community-oriented problem solving strategies (Cockcroft, 2013; Loftus, 2010; O'Neil, Marks & Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2005; Moir & Moir, 1992; Bayley, 1989; Weatheritt, 1987; Alderson, 1983; Goldstein, 1979). In theory, "if the police culture is subject to continuing encounters with community sensibilities, it is liable to undergo a positive modification" (Brogden & Shearing, 1993:103).

Three police culture themes have traditionally been described as opposing, within relative terms, the effective implementation of community-oriented policing. These themes are the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism (Chan, 2007; Steyn, 2006; Reiner, 2000).

Van Maanen (1978c:310) notes that, despite the numerous ethnographic work conducted on police culture, none of the research could completely "debunk the mystique of police work". He advocates that most researchers share an "ingrained affinity with or distrust of the subject matter". Westley (1970) found that police officers are detached from relations with the public and exhibit attitudes of aggression which promote cynicism towards citizens. Violence was indicated as a core element in police and public encounters, thereby enforcing traits of secrecy and solidarity. Banton (1964) quintessentially describes police bureaucrats as *amity keepers*

rather than law enforcers; however, it's evident that this study lacked in observing variables such as police corruption and discrimination towards particular members of society.

Research conducted by Cain (1973) primarily focused on the behaviour and ideologies of police officers in an urban and rural environment. She found characteristics of rank and file predispositions amongst officers. Cain's comparison between urban and rural officers interestingly found a difference in behaviour and found that police culture varied with location; urban police officers were dissociated from the public while rural officers played an integral role in the community.

In many instances the police are identified for some illegal or immoral behaviour rather than for the commendable work they do, which reinforces their isolation or factors of solidarity. This is referred to as the 'us versus them' ideology. According to Berg (1999), reported and rumoured police behaviour and characteristics are used as ammunition to create stereotypical attitudes of the police. The 'blue wall of silence' that was identified by Frye (2006) is a representation of solidarity and its fortified presence among police officers.

Organisational changes are rarely discussed with employees that are affected by the structure of an organisation. This leads to the experience of obstacles in an establishment (Woodcock & Francis, 1979). Van der Westhuizen (2001) identifies the need for change in individual member attitudes and their influence on an organisation.

Past research has been frequently used, but their findings have seldom been improved or challenged. There remains constant ambiguity concerning the components of a police organisation (Maguire et al., 1998). Maguire and Uchida (2000:494) state that such components "are influenced, shaped and constrained by a complex interaction of political, social, economic,

cultural, and institutional forces". A problem-orientated approach, as posited by Goldstein (1979), is essential in restoring community satisfaction with police, detecting the specific crime and the problems that develop due to disorder, and identifying responsive strategies. Police officers approach situations in the manner in which they have always been dealt with. Predisposed traditions are essential constituents in performing tasks. Cultural themes assist in stipulating social and professional composition. Scholars throughout time have expressed rank as an imperative factor in police culture (Van Maanen, 1975; Manning, 1976; Crank, 2004). Manning (1976) depicts a three level rank system: patrol officers, middle management and senior management officers.

Police are placed in dangerous situations and are given instructions to take control of law enforcement, make arrests and deal with perpetrators. "Symbolic assailants are, quite simply, members of the public whose appearance and language prompt police officers to expect violence…" (Skolnick, 1994: 44).

Themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism are prominent in police culture and appear in the works of Skolnick (1994), Niederhoffer (1967), Reuss-Ianni (1983), Van Maanen (1978), Manning (1989), and Crank (2004). Waddington (1999a) advocates a variation between 'actuality' and 'presentation' referring to an officer's work on the street and their latter behaviour. The researcher rejects the concept of police culture by stating that it is an "intellectual fashion that seeks to erode and relativize police subcultures" (Waddington,1999a:295).

A new recruit's association with other police officers tends to have a 'rub on effect', where new recruits are re-trained to work and react to situations like other senior officers do. This leads to confusion since new recruits are trained in theory and practice to attend to a crime scene or work in a particular manner, and during their occupational employment this is altered or contaminated by negative attitudes and behaviour from longer service officers (Champoux, 2006; Bayley & Bittner, 1989).

Skolnick (1966: 52) states that "the policeman experiences an exceptionally strong tendency to find his social identity within his occupational milieu". Gaines, Kappeler and Vaughn (2008) identify the core spirit of culture as 'ethos'. Crank (2004:278) asserts that secrecy "is a set of working tenets that loosely couple the police to accountability, that allow them to do their work and cover their ass", ensuring that one police officer should not implicate another for corruption, bribery, immoral behaviour and misconduct (Reuss-Ianni,1983). Silence is regarded as loyalty and if loyalty is compromised it could have severe implications for an officer.

4.4.1 Police culture frames

Crank (2004) advocates the presence of 'frames' which manifest into police culture. Frames imply the recognition of norms, values, principles and ideals that contribute towards the composition of culture within the organisation; in this particular instance the police establishment.

Frame one	Interactionist phase	This frame suggests that officers embrace culture and culture emerges when individuals that are members of the institute acquire traits, characteristics and circadian patterns from the

		milieu that surrounds them. They imbibe tendencies from an occupational locale.
Frame two	Institutional phase	Police officers inspect nationwide prototypes and explore the influence they have on the local component of a police environment and the way in which it effects that milieu. It further examines the presence of subcultures within police culture. It is thus an exploration by ascertaining the rudiments of the subculture.
Frame three	Contemporary phase	This phase establishes the assistance of preceding and current literature or journalisms. Such writings are significant in the sense that they add relevance and actuality to the prospect of subcultures (numerous cultures within a specific culture) contained in the police environment and organisation.

4.5 Police Subculture

Police subculture refers to the traits, values and characteristics that are transposed onto an officer via his/her environment (Van Maanen, 1978). According to Westmarland (2008), recent developments in the area of policing have increasingly referred to ‘police cultures’ rather than to a singular ‘police culture’, and Filstad et al. (2007) assert that a variety of subcultures exist within the police organisation.

Police subculture comprises unsanctioned rules, conduct and ideologies pasted on from generation to generation in what is referred to as a ‘brotherhood’ (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

Paoline (2004) indicates the presence of idiosyncratic groups within the police, which are referred to as different cliques within the police organisation, for example detectives, patrol officers, dog units, laboratory technicians, forensic investigators, and so on. These distinct groups form groups within one group or unit. Subgroups can also be formed in a demographic system through the commonality of age, gender, race and educational qualifications.

Police subculture alters police officer behaviour and interpretations and may move towards cynicism, isolation and solidarity. It appears that police all over the world concentrate on the repression of the people rather than the improvement at local, provincial and national level (Brogden & Shearing, 1993). In a paper entitled '*Violence and the police'*, Westley (1953:34) comments that a man's occupation "…is a major determining factor of his conduct and social identity. It also involves more than a man's work and must go beyond the technical in the explanation of work behaviour…". Westley (1970) identifies the community as being 'hostile' towards police officers. Police subculture creates a set of ideals, understandings and certainties that develop in a police organisation. For example, one result of this is that they uphold the notion that police officers are solely responsible for fighting crime and many police officers believe that they cannot completely eradicate crime without bending the rules and regulations of the organisation.

Communities tend to maintain resentment and hostility towards police officers, especially towards those who are easily identified by the fact that they wear a distinctive uniform. Police officers have been criticised by dissatisfied citizens with regards to the service they provide and their demeanour when conducting investigations and enforcing the law. Police are also often intimidated by citizens who portray feelings of alienation which promote their sense of isolation.

For this reason, police officers seek solidarity and the assurance of belonging to a clique (Alpert & Dunham, 1997) or special group, as they are urged by feelings of alienation to associate with their 'own' kind as a result of citizens' attitudes and perceptions about the police.

Orthodox accounts have been influential in the comprehension of police culture, but in spite of this researchers probe the conceptualisation and operationalisation of a monolithic police culture. Research depicts conformity within the police as being homogeneous, whilst recent accounts have brought forward the possibility of a heterogeneous notion. Manning (2007) proposes the possibility of police organisations having subcultures, particularly according to rank and 'higher' and 'lower' level employees. Research conducted found similar separation between detectives and patrol officers (Hobbs, 1988; Manning, 2007; Young, 1991; Wilson, 1972). However, mainstream police culture has predominantly focused on a singular police culture without the possibility of branches within police culture (Chan, 1997; Cockcroft, 2007, Manning, 2007; Van Maanen, 1978b).

4.6 Proactive versus Reactive Officers and Police Culture

Paoline (2004) advocates the significance of distinctive subgroups within police culture. These subgroups are created by various distinctive factors, such as different racial groups, male and female officers, and members who have received a tertiary education in policing and those who have not. Many groups within the police force have diverse viewpoints and interpret the concept of policing differently, for example police brutality versus community involvement and interaction (Van Maanen, 1978:311). All police officers have a rare perception of values, morals and beliefs that influence their occupational duties. Earlier research describes a monolithic 'cop

culture' that fuses all levels of police into one occupational establishment; however, the presence of more than one such subcultures has implications for the development of new management techniques and procedures at grassroots level. In the past, detectives were an integral part of the 'brotherhood', but both Cain (1973) and Young (1991) advocate the 'fractured rivalry' between patrol officers and detectives. Due to numerous factors, the structure of the police organisation has begun to weaken and is disintegrating into distinct groups. Paoline (2003) suggests that differently ranked officers in the police organisation possess different priorities, practices and variations in epitomes. This rising conflict amongst groups with contrasting beliefs and values leads to alienation among these various groups and creates conflict, particularly between the two cultures of proactive and reactive police memberships.

However, both patrol officers and the detectives branch still share a common goal, which is to establish and maintain a safe environment in the communities they serve. Clearly, some differences do exist. For patrol officers, for example, response to a crime is of more importance than the development of strategies and recommendations towards challenges that might not even occur on a regular basis. For these officers, the ability to respond to a situation immediately entails effective policing and efficient police work. Reuss-Ianni (1983:7) indicates that "decision making thus takes place personally and immediately. Officers support each other, and their common interests bind them into a cohesive 'brotherhood'. This 'brotherhood' reflects the bond of solidarity and through collective group action they are able to comprehend the problem and plan solutions and possible strategies that need to be undertaken to address a problem."

Detectives tend to possess more authoritarian qualities in comparison to patrol officers, which is indicative of the divergence of subcultures within the police organisation. Patrol officers are expected to be proactively involved (Bullock et al., 2006) with the community in establishing

methods to effectively prevent crime (Alderson, 1977; Greene & Mastrofski, 1988), whereas the detective branch acts after a crime has transpired. According to Hoque et al. (2004), citizens will have faith in the justice system if officers take accountability for the prevention of crime. Bayley (1986) and Smith et al. (2001) found a varied possibility of police officers that remain dominated by patrol logic.

Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983:272) reflect on the comparison between the 'street cop' and the 'management cop': "The street cop uses his or her own discretion as the basis for making decisions at a local level. On the other hand, the 'management cop culture' takes a broader geographical remit and concentrates on its key role of prioritisation of limited resources within a complex array of external financial, political and social constraints".

Contradictory to common belief, the South African Police Service is burdened by cultural and historical attitudes. Therefore, there is some evidence that present attitudes and behaviour towards the community emulate societal, political and economic predicaments (Yukl, 2012). An effort by the police force to dissociate itself from prior links to political oppression has proved to be difficult for patrol officers who are identified by the fact that they wear the same uniform, which means that uniform officers receive further stigmatisation in comparison to detectives. Transformation occurs when individuals are able to merge their attitudes with community ethics and moralities (Barker, 2001). The need for teamwork and collective action leads to mutual dependency among comrades, thereby sustaining solidarity and partnership among both uniform officers (proactive) and plain clothes (reactive) officers (Manning, 1977).

4.7 Police Culture Themes

It is evident that much of the knowledge on police culture has been replicated from prior investigative studies rather than from new research being conducted on police culture. The objective of this study was to comprehend the significance of specific police culture themes within the SAPS organisational culture. This was an attempt to better understand the dynamics of police culture or police cultures in South Africa in light of the excessive focus that has been placed on police corruption, suspicion, gender and race (Klapper et al., 1994; Bittner, 1970).

4.7.1 The police culture theme of solidarity

Police validate irrational behaviour towards delinquents or convicts (Caldero, 1995) and are depicted as comrades fighting a war against criminals. The paradox of public and police liaison is police officers' 'suspicion' of civilians. Young (1991:108) defines suspicion as: "the use of quick and incisive classification as a method of imposing control…." Officers tend to be doubtful and apprehensive of behaviour that is not idealised in a specific social world. Suspicion imparts the basis of all police work, particularly that of patrol officers, and the demeanour that ensues generates a sense of solidarity among the police. Skolnick (1994) suggests that suspicion can be linked to the danger that is generally associated with police work. Moreover, instructors inflict group punishments upon police recruits during training, thereby reinforcing solidarity among trainees and fortifying team contributions (Van Maanen, 1978).

A sense of solidarity is fortified amongst the various ranks in the SAPS (Reiner, 2000a) and it is clearly observed as an 'us versus them' scenario. Police officers are 'unified' by attitudes and behaviour that encourage solidarity as they withstand gruelling shift changes as distinct units, face the challenges of separating their professional and private existence, and having to intensely

depend on colleagues. Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983:258) reflect that "relationships among officers are structured in such a way that they are mutually supportive, and their common interests bind them into a cohesive brotherhood that personalises task performance as well as social relationships."

Secrecy and solidarity represent much of the distinguishing characteristics of a police official. Reiner (2010) asserts that public antagonism, work-related stress and shift work create a withdrawal symptom, as officers are progressively unable to associate with individuals outside the police organisation. However, according to Skolnick (1966), solidarity can be advantageous in the sense that colleagues and team mates are able to work together harmoniously, thereby leading to effective productivity in police work. But it can be considered as a disadvantage given that police officers take an oath of confidentiality and loyalty and will thus use their solidarity as a means of conspiracy that may result in corruption, bribery and dishonesty, which in turn are practices that reinforce the spirit of camaraderie among police members (Harris,1978). With regards to corruption, bribery and fraud, many officers stationed in the force expect support and complete 'secrecy' from new officers before they are trusted and allowed into the 'brotherhood' where they, in turn, conform to the behaviour and attitudes of their fellow police officers. Many officers 'turn a blind eye' and pay no attention to corruption, especially if they are rejected by society and the citizens they police. They thus have no option but to try to conform to the police culture even if it is corrupt (Reuss-Ianni,1983:14-16). In this context, Gray (1983) suggests that solidarity is manifested in the institutionalised practice of 'covering up' for one another.

Scholars have maintained that officers become socialized into a police culture, thereby insinuating that police officers learn attitudes and behaviour from training, are socialized into the police culture, and gain knowledge and acceptable behaviour from colleagues and peers (Van

Maanen, 1978). This perspective fails to clarify that police officers possess their own set of moral standards, values, attitudes and behaviour prior to police training; hence new recruits are not empty vessels and do not acquire new attitudes but are rather influenced by new ones.

According to Goldstein (1960), police officers are bestowed with discretionary use of authority and power, hence behaviour goes unnoticed. Crank (2004) goes on to advocate that officers are taught to interpret outsiders. There have been excessive attempts to change the police organisation, be by means of recruitment policy, skills and development, training, recruitment and modifications to the establishment's policies and regulations. However, documented changes need to be augmented with a transformative change in attitude and behaviour. "It is such dispositions that inform police rationales, the perceptions of those they interact with, and the use of policing styles" (Loftus, 2009:19). It was Chan (1997) who introduced a reflection of rethinking police culture and the capacity in which it can be changed. She affirms that change in the institution is possible, provided that it is supported socially, economically and through legislative influence.

The South African Police Service has thus embraced a police culture that suggests an 'us versus them' attitude (Ainsworth, 1995). Emphasis is placed on 'familial values' that encompass a sense of togetherness. It affords members emotional support that enhances the 'us versus them' approach and leads to a division between the police and the community. Post-apartheid effects in the police can be a potential source of solidarity because, subsequent to apartheid, interrelations were prioritised for amalgamation of communities, including the SAPS (Gordon, 2001). Police officers develop leniency towards intergroup conflicts and become reliant on colleagues. Moreover, police officers have a continuous imprint attached to members, which makes it

increasingly harder for them to socialise with outer occupational groups, thereby fortifying solidarity and a sense of belonging amid members.

According to Crank (2004), solidarity is used as an apparatus in buoying police group identity and safeguarding bureaucrats within the organisation against outside criticism. Crank (2004) goes on to state that the sense of solidarity experienced by police officers also encompasses bitterness and resentments and results in clashes between opposing groups that contest police performance of tasks on a daily basis. The aspect of danger in their occupational environment further contributes towards the strengthening of loyalty and trust among members, exuding high levels of a spirit of camaraderie and a military stance. A core element in the solidarity theme consists of prominent ethics and principles that morally portray individuals and institutions outside the police organisation and its members as iniquitous and flawed; these out-groups are, for example, the public, the judicial system, and 'top brass' (i.e., higher level management). Police officers view themselves as nonpareil and thus as an elite class of their own (Hunt & Magenau, 1993).

Police officers portray scepticism and mistrust towards the citizens they police. Solidarity has therefore proved to be an interesting concept to academics who have increasingly placed concealment and illegal and immoral police practice under scrutiny. However, the tendency for a rise in solidarity and 'esprit de corps' among police officers has coincidently resulted in a rise in isolation, which is discussed in the next section.

4.7.2 Police culture theme of isolation

Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983:258) describe isolation as "an attitude when police officers experience immense difficulty in building and maintaining relationships with those who belong to different occupations." According to Hagen (1995), the community associates public police

with people who wear distinctive uniforms, which results in stereotypical views of the characteristics of police officers. Detectives are seldom treated in this manner, as they are in plain attire. According to Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983), the vast majority of occupational trauma that employees endure within the police organisation is caused by stress, interpersonal relations with co-workers, and daily endangerments. Van der Westhuizen (2001) identifies trauma and stress on duty, but argues that these stressors are often kept completely secret among members and are rarely disclosed to partners and family members.

Police officers believe that they are expected to be composed at all times; however, in doing so they are compelled to conceal their feelings and thus they become hardened, which augments the culture of isolation (Violanti,1996). Police officers become embedded in their police occupation which isolates and detaches them from individuals outside the police force such as their family, friends and the community in which they reside (Skolnick, 1996; Reuss Ianni, 1983).

Many police officers experience social rejection because of the nature of their work, and also because many often assume that people outside the police force cannot apprehend the rigors of their occupation. In this context, one should take into account the vigorous time schedule that is related to a police officer's vocation, particularly as shift work requires that they work at different hours in dangerous situations during the day or night. Because the police are expected to implement laws that affect the populace, they are in turn socially rejected and isolated by the public. Moreover, the double standards followed by many officers who implement decrees but fail to comply with the same rules and regulations themselves serve to distance the community from police officers, and the result is that socialisation often occurs only among members of the police.

Reuss-Ianni (1983:14-16) posits various hypotheses that address the 'us versus them' outlook. For instance, police use isolation to preserve and protect their profession which they believe 'outsiders' such as academics, the courts, politicians and their communities know little about. General outlooks such as 'protect your ass' imply that an officer should be suspicious and should guard him- or herself against two types of danger. The first is internal danger in the form of disciplinary hearings and castigation from superiors and senior level management, and the second external danger emanates from the circadian dangers and conflict that they face in the communities where they work.

The statement '*don't trust the new guy until you have him checked out*' is also indicative of the isolation that is in a way self-imposed among police officers, as this statement assumes that new recruits or police officers that have transferred from other police stations should not be trusted unless they have proven themselves. This insinuates suspicion among police officers, reflecting that they fail to trust anyone and this attitude thus contributes towards the concept that more than one culture exist within the police culture. It is only when an officer can show 'esprit de corps' and camaraderie among his fellow officers that he or she is considered a member of the team.

Reuss-Ianni (1983:14-16) further suggests that the attitude *'don't trust your bosses to look out for your interests'* proposes that bosses are perceived as being egocentric and self-absorbed and that they are insensitive to the needs of their subordinates. This enhances the sense of isolation lower ranked officers may experience in the workplace and enforces an antagonistic relationship between supervisors and patrol or uniform officers.

Police officers continue to experience difficulties in shifting between the cultural world of police work and that of their civilian environments. Skolnick (1994) insinuates that officers higher in the hierarchy require that subordinates do their menial tasks, which is referred to as doing their

'dirty work' in general parlance. Social isolation and social solidarity are interlinked and can be interpreted as a complex 'push' and 'pull' phenomenon that has influential powers over the organisation and the community.

4.7.3 Police culture theme of cynicism

Banton (1964:144) explains that cynicism affects a police officer because he/she is "frequently a critic of society through what he [she] sees in the courts as well as on the beat; he is in an unparalleled position to observe the machinery of society in operation." When police officers perceive the world negatively, they depict a poor portrait of mankind. Nierderhoffer (1969:9) has an exceptional view of cynicism as he asserts that "cynicism is an ideological plank deeply entrenched in the ethos of the police world…they lose faith in people, society and eventually themselves…the world becomes a jungle in which crime, corruption and brutality are normal features of a terrain."

Researchers such as Rubinstein (1973), Skolnick (1966), Holdaway (1983) and Brown (1981) found that suspicion is an attribute shared by members of the police. Police officers are drawn to marginal groups and their possible association with crime. Significantly, suspicion is a component in training (Skolnick, 1966). Police officers fundamentally possess cynical, distrustful and unenthusiastic views of society and countless officers have insinuated an absence of respect for authority figures (Reiner, 1978). However, police officers are also notorious for viewing the public who are disrespectful and impolite towards them from a cynical and distanced stance.

Waddington (1999b) hints at a form of treachery on the part of senior management as a result of the differences between their occupational tasks and those of subordinate ranks. In this context, Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) therefore argue that attitudes of solidarity and cynicism are

engendered among proactive police officers, which enhances these police cultures in the organisation. Van Maanen (1978b) found that police officers as a whole considered police work to be an integral part of protecting society but that they believed that the occupation of a police officer was largely undermined by senior management and occupations related to the justice field. De la Garza (2015), who examined homicide and robbery detectives' levels of cynicism among a relatively small sample group, found lower levels of cynicism which was contrary to the hypothesis of the study. This scholar therefore argues that a smaller population sample leads to an inability to generalize the outcomes of police culture investigations. Niederhoffer (1967:) defines cynicism as "a loss of passion, zest and eagerness towards a particular situation or occupational environment", whereas Buzawa (1984) proposes that cynicism may occur among police officers as a result of the affirmative action policy and guidelines. Levels of cynicism may also vary among shifts and ranks, as was found by Dorsey and Giacopassi (1987).

Extensive studies found that attitudes of cynicism not only increased shortly after academic training, but that police cynicism can affect several components of the police, be it training, relations with citizens, or commitment towards duties (Alpert & Dunham, 1997; Broderick, 1987:22–115). Anderson and Tengblad (2009:53) identify "mutual disrespect and lack of confidence between police management and patrolling police officers" as sources of cynicism. Moreover, Graves (1996) argues that high crime rates lead to a heavier workload and that this promotes employee pessimism which leads to cynicism. A study conducted by Terry (1989) concluded that there was no significant difference in the culture of cynicism amid police officers and other occupational groups; however, that study argued that it was evident that other occupations did not encounter the same amount of danger and stress as the police in their employment environments.

Niederhoffer (1967) concludes that the call for professionalism in the police occupation is the root cause of cynicism. The scale used by the latter author to measure the level of cynicism among police officers found cynicism to be multi-dimensional; however, the measuring instrument lacked internal reliability (Langworthy, 1987; Regoli, 1976). Conversely, Lester (1980) found Niederhoffer's scale of measuring cynicism effective, accurate and reliable, and concluded that higher cynicism scores related to a higher probability of negativity among police officers. Crank et al. (1986), Bolton and Houlihan (2005), and Thomas and Davies (2005) found that police officers with advanced education portrayed minimal signs of cynicism. Police officers are vessels used to implement the law, hence personnel that are displeased with the organisation manifest antagonism towards the enactment of their duties and obligations. Officers who had served within the organisation for a long period of time had progressed attitudes pertaining to cynicism in comparison with new recruits (Hickman, Piquero & Piquero, 2004).

It is argued by Hickman (2008) that cynicism can be strongly influenced by the type of environment and occupational situation in which the officer works and confirms that proliferation may occur in such environments, which contributes to negative attitudes and behaviour in a police institution. Attitudes of cynicism consist of feelings in officers of distrust, pessimism, suspicion and disparagement towards the police organisation (Niederhoffer, 1967). Police cynicism is generally directed towards everyone that is in an officer's milieu, and this culture affects these environments negatively. For example, Van Maanen (1978) states that cynicism is the origin of tribulations experienced in a police force milieu and, if left uncontrolled, it can lead to dire consequences for police bureaucrats and the police organisation in general.

Cynicism can be found in officer-to-officer dialect and in their behaviour towards official work and supervisors. Wilt and Bannon (1976) propose that new recruits tend to imitate the behaviour of senior officers in order to conform to the ideologies and attitudes of the police force, which continues throughout training and thereafter as they are stationed in their occupational positions. This willingness to avoid the 'rookie' label persuades officers to preserve attitudes of cynicism towards the public and law constabularies. Police recruits are trained and educated in police academies on the conceivable hazard and danger they are likely to encounter whilst undertaking police work. They are thus trained to comprehend, conceptualise and operationalise relevant concepts of suspicion, conflict and danger, which means that they are instructed to advocate the use of cultural knowledge.

In essence, cynicism is discovered in officers that maintain a loss of faith in the judicial system and the police institution. It can promote isolation in officers and pessimism towards their occupation, and could pave the way towards bribery, corruption and fraud.

4.8 Conclusion

The themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism are interconnected and occur concurrently (Crank, 2004). Therefore, an exploration these themes in combination will better assist in identifying police culture traits and characteristics in both internal and external settings. It is imperative that the ways in which themes are related to one another are explored in order to justify the circadian of police attitudes and behaviour.

It is difficult to establish if the cultures contained within the SAPS organisation are able to be used in a simultaneous manner to assist the community. Non-monolithic accounts of police culture encourage debate on the influence it holds and the extent to which it dictates thought and behaviour. The next chapter discusses the community and how police culture exists, survives and affects citizenry.

CHAPTER FIVE

"The police are not here to create disorder; they're here to preserve disorder."
-Richard J. Daley-

POLICE OFFICERS AND COMMUNITY POLICING

5.1 Introduction

For years during the apartheid era the public was continuously beleaguered and victimised by police officers. However, post-1994 researchers have focused on techniques to transform the police force and the police organisation to initiate a beneficial affiliation between the police and the public. It became imperative in the quest for a cooperative relationship between the police and the communities they serve that past hostilities should not perpetuate the antagonism between them.

5.2 Community Policing in Context

Due to the inadequacies of conventional policing styles, community policing is used as a technique towards developing awareness and gaining community trust, thereby leading to effective leads towards combating crime (Hale, 1997). Community policing is in contrast to the bureaucratic style of policing (Manning, 1997). According to Cox and Wale (1998), community policing is essential in enhancing a cooperative relationship between citizens and the police to resolve community problems and to improve the well-being of the community (Manning, 1997).

5.3 Community-Oriented Policing

Post-1994, vital changes were essential in the daily interactions within the police organisation (Buerger, Petrosino & Petrosino, 1999; Newburn & Reiner, 2007; Mckenzie, 2005; Chetty,

2004; O'Toole, 2004; Wood, 2005). It became essential for the organisation to infuse its members with a problem-solving mindset that would facilitate effective handling of community grievances (Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Wilkinson & Rosenbaum, 1994). An effective change needs to be made to contemporary programmes within the organisation (Buerge, 1998; Wilkinson & Rosenbaum, 1994) to initiate better communication between the police and the community (Robinson, 1990; Weitzer, 2000). One suggestion is that educative techniques pertaining to community policing need to be applied in the training of police members at academy level (McEwen, 1997). In a study conducted by Harr (2001:18), it was found that police recruits believed "that fewer resources should be devoted to community policing" and that they "expressed less favourable views towards community policing". Conversely, Harr (p. 24) also found that training in the academy positively moulded the perceptions of recruits in relation to public interactions. This paradox in Harr's study was difficult to explain. Buerger (1998) later argued that pre-academy attitudes were present prior to basic training and skills development and, as community members who were aware of their surroundings, the recruits may have held the community accountable for promoting better communication. This view was supported by Klockars (2005) and Hornberger (2007).

5.4 Lack of Implementation

Because citizens are taxpayers and are therefore in a position of hegemony, they expect a degree of respect, professional behaviour and ethical treatment from police officers as well as effective policing. Community policing should therefore continue as a dominant driver in dismantling barriers between the police and the community. However, completely eliminating crime as a common directive appears unrealistic (Bennett & Schmitt, 2002; Marks, 2000), as numerous debates surrounding the antagonistic relationship between the public and the police persist.

Therefore, public satisfaction or dissatisfaction with police is a major indicator of positive or negative service delivery respectively. According to Somerhalding (2003:1), it is crucial for communities to receive effective service delivery. However, because the South African Police Service appears to be skilled in traditional methods of policing only, the community is uncertain whether their affiliation with the SAPS will be beneficial or not. This generally leads to non-corporative public-police interactions. It has therefore become the responsibility of every SAPS official to determine the most appropriate ways of promoting the transformation of traditional methods of policing in the quest to provide effective and trustworthy policing services to the community. This is a matter of urgency, as the inability to adequately respond to service delivery and to meet public satisfaction leads to avoidance of reporting complaints to the police, which results in the community's perception that they should rather take matters to political leaders.

Tshwete (2000) stated that South Africa approached solutions to policing dilemmas by referring to European societies. In his view, this practice resulted in the adverse implementation of solutions with consequent social inequalities and socio-demographic and economic differences. The post-1994 democratic government has, to this day, faced enormous challenges in transforming the police services from one that previously oppressed to one that is required to impress (Raunch, 2000).

South Africans share a history where they were compelled to reside in a country that faced extreme brutality, segregation and police misconduct. The transformation from SAP to SAPS commenced in 1994 when the democratic government was instated. The transformation was accompanied by numerous changes and the implementation of a plethora of new policies and regulations. It is through these changes that the police culture, and its concomitant subcultures,

appear to be most affected. Cockcroft (2013:20) therefore highlights the reasons why police culture remains a prominent area of study, a he states that “the state and its shifting position and agendas, as well as public perceptions of police function and efficacy” are needed to execute the role of the police. This is important because the “paradigms which academics evoke [in terms of the] politicised nature of formal social control impact upon police numbers, roles and responsibilities”. Changes in the police organisation and police culture are therefore required to assuage public fear of crime and concerns over personal and community security.

A review of the literature clearly indicated that the phenomenon under study had only been explored marginally. Policing is essential in order to “maintain public order, protect and secure all residents, to uphold and enforce the law with dedicated personnel and maximum utilisation of all resources at its disposal” (Roets, 2003:3). Inadequate performance of officers can lead to negative effects on citizens (Maguire & Radosh, 1999:278). According to the National Crime Prevention Strategy (1997), police officers are expected to depict empathy, support and good quality service towards the public (SAPS, 2002a:6). It is also a known fact that content employees enhance the performance of an organisation (Heskett et al., 1994; Tewksbury & West, 2001). In this context, Schwartz, Schurink and Stanz (2007) indicate that indigent interpersonal skills among colleagues has a negative effect on service delivery, as the employees in their study stated that they were not willing to go further than what was required of them.

5.5 Proactive and Reactive Police Officers and Community Policing

The study focused on a comparison of the perceptions between detectives and patrol officers regarding the police culture attitudes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism in the South African context. A main question that underpinned the study was: *If SAPS training officers impart the*

necessary knowledge and skills for the development of recruits into functional and effective police officers, why are these attitudes and demeanour not present in and executed and operationalised by them? It was therefore imperative to establish if reactive officers (plain clothes) and proactive officers (uniform) harboured and sustained different perceptions of policing. Camp et al. (1986) state that the effectiveness of an organisation lies in the influence of training and performance in the workplace. The current study therefore engaged in an investigation into police culture themes in order to distinguish how police officers who had endured the same physical and psychological challenges during their training, had difficulty in implementing policy and procedure due to situational and environmental factors.

The importance of this study is that it will reflect interactions between uniform and plain clothes police officers two decades into the formation of democratic society in South Africa. In this context, the South African Government News Agency (2013) sates:

> "Since the establishment of the South African Police Service (SAPS) in 1994, there have been many changes in the internal and external environment that have impacted the service's understanding of and response to issues of crime and safety. Post-1994, government was faced with addressing the twin objectives of creating a developmental state, while also transforming the police into an institution of governance".

Therefore, according to the South African Government News Agency (2013), the Green Paper on polling was developed to "respond to the constantly evolving criminal landscape of the country".

Marks (2000), Mastrofski et al. (1998) and Nofziger and Willams (2005) declare that it is the responsibility of police officers to modify themselves in changing environments. Kusow, Wilson and Martin (1997:656) argue that policing needs to be flexible and applicable in order to be efficacious. As tax payers, citizens of South Africa have a right to investigate and understand the efficacy of the South African Police Services (Davis et al., 2004). Matthews (2000:189) suggests that "non-performing members be released from the service", whereas Rasila and Mudau (2012:36) state that "police service problems are attributed to a lack of effective communication between local government and community members."

5.6 Transformation

Both a change of culture and the policing style of officers within the SAPS required modification for enhanced accountability to the citizenry within a democratic South African context. Some challenges have been met head-on as the SAPS has recently acknowledged the generous contributions that the community has made towards combating crime. There have also been numerous initiatives by communities to combat crime such as the establishment of community policing forums (CPFs), crime prevention associations (CPAs), individuals from the community who volunteered as reservists, crime prevention strategies, youth crime prevention programmers, and juvenile assistance and rehabilitation programmes (Steyn, 2013; Cockcroft, 2013; Loftus, 2010; O'Neil, Marks & Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2005). Partnerships that are established at grass-roots level are essential for the alleviation of crime in society. Local governments, in collaboration with both local and provincial businesses, can form beneficial alliances in fighting crime. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (South Africa, 1996) section 205(3) states:

> "The objectives of the police service are to prevent, combat and investigate crime, to maintain public order, to protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property, and to uphold and enforce the law."

It is essential to promote the establishment of better relations between the police and the community. It is imperative that the functioning of community policing forums is overseen in order for effective performance. This can be done by increasing community membership which will assist the police in improving counteractive measures to curb criminal attacks on the public. Many scholars recommend community policing as an effective technique in combating crime and developing an understanding between the police and the community. However, several critiques vis-à-vis community policing have been voiced, affirming that community policing is seldom achieved as it creates an alternative to the traditional policing style rather than an additional component of policing (Steyn, 2013). A further argument is that a proportion of police officers persists in maintaining prejudiced attitudes or behaviour towards members or certain groups in society despite their training in and knowledge of legislation. Moreover, it is apparent that community policing functions more efficiently in suburbs that are populated by consistent, regular and wealthier inhabitants, whereas it is considered inefficient in indigent communities that experience increasingly higher crime rates. In this context, Steyn (2013) argues that modifications to the training and recruitment procedures are essential to appeal to the new breed of novices who have to engage in effective affiliations with the community. The SAPS has started this process by adopting a revised training and recruitment curriculum and, by all reports, trainees are effectively adapting to the amendments (SAPS website,2016).

5.7 Conclusion

Over time, and particularly since the advent of the democratic dispensation in South Africa, academics have supported and encouraged police-community interaction and now accept that both police culture and the police organisation are obstacles in formulating better relations between police officers and the public. It is therefore imperative that fundamental problems be dealt with in a systematic manner. The following chapter illuminates the research methodology, research questions, hypotheses, research sample, and the data collection procedure that was employed in the current study.

CHAPTER SIX

"The world is a dangerous place to live in; not because of the people who are evil, but because of the people who don't do anything about it."
-Albert Einstein -

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.1 Introduction

The previous five chapters of this thesis provided a theoretical and philosophical setting to comprehending the rationale for and research problem that gave this study impetus. In this chapter the researcher will convey the procedures undertaken to address the research question and hypotheses. This chapter presents the research approach, design, sampling method, data collection method, procedure, questionnaire, and problems encountered by the researcher.

6.2 Research Approach and Design

The research approach and design are dependent on the purpose of the study, which in this case was to answer the research question and address the hypotheses. The aim of this study was to identify sub-cultural differentiation (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983) with regards to the levels and patterns of police culture among a sample of police officers who had 10 years' experience as members of the SAPS. Two distinct sample groups were targeted, namely proactive (uniform) and reactive (plain clothes) police officers. The logic for this choice was that proactive officers had a higher level of visibility among and interaction with the public. Their roles are also multi-faceted as they act to preserve the public peace in the first instance, followed by restoring it when needed. Reactive officers, primarily made up of plain clothes detectives, cannot as easily be identified as proactive members and also have very different day-to-day experiences

compared to their uniformed counterparts. Moreover, their interactions as police officers with the public tend to be more negative, specifically as they react to crime that has already been committed and the negative outcomes related to them.

6.3 Research Questions and Hypotheses

6.3.1 Research questions

(1) Are there signs demonstrating attitudes of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a sample of proactive and reactive SAPS police officers with ten years' experience?

(2) Does a sample of proactive officers in the SAPS with 10 years' experience hold different attitudes towards the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism compared to a sample of reactive officers in the SAPS with 10 years' experience?

Earlier studies on police culture have predominantly investigated this phenomenon in conditions of social and political turmoil (Marks, 2005; Glaeser, 2000), or have focused on elements such as bias, prejudice and intolerance (Foster, Newburn & Souhami, 2005; Miller, Forest & Jurik, 2003; Chan, 1997) to identify sub-cultural differentiation (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983). The current study was different in that it focused on two related goals: first, to evaluate the attitudes of police officers with regards to the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a sample of SAPS police officers with 10 years' experience; and second, to determine if a sample of proactive officers in the SAPS with 10 years' experience evinced different and/or similar attitudes to the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism compared to a sample of reactive plain clothes officers in the SAPS with 10 years' experience.

6.3.2 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

There is a presence of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism among SAPS reactive officers (plain clothes) and proactive officers (uniform officers) with 10 years' experience in the SAPS.

Hypothesis 2

Proactive officers (uniform officers) with 10 years' experience have different attitudes towards the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism compared to reactive officers (plain clothes) with 10 years' in the SAPS.

6.4 Methodological Concerns

Due to the nature of the research question and hypotheses, the research required an approach that could accommodate a large research sample (i.e., external validity) and could measure correlational constructs or variable relationships amid different groups at a single point in time. Hence the researcher chose to focus on a quantitative research approach within the framework of the positivist research paradigm.

This particular study was embedded within a former, larger scale study. The former meta-study employed a quasi-experimental pre-test/post-test repeated measures research design. A measurement instrument was used at four time points during the development phases of police officers as they advanced in their careers in the SAPS. These points were defined as:

- Time 1 – Pre-test *(choice stage):* at the beginning of the basic training of SAPS recruits (January 2005);

- Time 2 – First post-test *(introduction stage)*: at the end of the basic training of SAPS recruits (June 2005);
- Time 3 – Second post-test *(encounter stage)*: at the end of field training at police stations (December 2005);
- Time 4 – Third post-test *(metamorphosis stage)*: ten years after entering SAPS employment (June 2014).

However, the current study only focused on Time 4, as indicated above. At this point members would have been embedded within the SAPS for sufficient time to have normalised themselves within the organisation. Further, members would have had time in which to be divided between the reactive and proactive branches of the SAPS, thus fulfilling the requirement (i.e., 10 years' experience) of the second goal of the project.

6.5 Data Collection Method

In order to evaluate the formulation of attributes of the police cultural themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism with reference to Manning's (1989) and Van Maanen's (1975) *metamorphosis* stage of police culture socialisation, the researcher, together with her supervisor, employed a quasi-experimental one-group post-test survey design within the framework of the positivist research paradigm. To date, the project owner and thesis supervisor had conducted three prior measurements on the same participants:

- Pre-test *(choice stage)*: at the beginning of the basic training of SAPS recruits (January 2005);
- First post-test *(introduction stage)*: at the end of the basic training of SAPS recruits (June 2005);
- Second post-test *(encounter stage)*: at the end of field training at police stations (December 2005).

The data for the former study had been generated for the fourth round (third post-test) of data collection at the 10-year point in time (2015).

6.5.1 Questionnaire

The data for the current study utilised the questionnaire that had been developed for the Steyn (2005). This measuring instrument was a 30-item questionnaire that had been informed by a review of the literature (Crank, 2004; Chan, 2001; McNulty, 1994; Skolnick, 1994; Manning, 1989; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983; Shearing & Ericson, 1991; Bayley & Bittner, 1989; Van Maanen, 1976; Niederhoffer, 1967) and the engagement of a focus group comprising senior SAPS managers and police academics in South Africa. The instrument had been developed by the researcher's supervisor, Dr Jéan Steyn, to measure the presence of solidarity, isolation and cynicism among functional police officers. Permission to utilise the 30-item Police Culture Questionnaire was obtained from Dr Steyn, who was also the applicant's supervisor.

The questionnaire consisted of seven sections:

Section A: Purpose of the questionnaire

Section B: Voluntary participation permission and consent form

Section C: Instructions and guidelines on how to complete the questionnaire

Section D: Biographical information on the participant

Section E: Police culture solidarity (items: 1 -10)

Section F: Police culture isolation (items: 11 -20)

Section G: Police culture cynicism (items: 21-30)

The questionnaire is arranged as follows:

SECTION E: SOLIDARITY THEME ITEMS

(1) I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid vocations.
(2) I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements.
(3) Police officers are careful of how they behave in public.
(4) You don't understand what it is to be a police official until you are a police official.
(5) Police officers have to look out for each other.
(6) Members of the public, media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognise the good that SAPS members do.
(7) What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger.
(8) Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'.
(9) A good police official takes nothing at face value.
(10) To be a police official is not just another job, it is a 'higher calling'.

SECTION F: ISOLATION THEME ITEMS

(11) I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official.
(12) I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members.
(13) I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work.
(14) Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are.
(15) My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about.
(16) Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the SAPS.
(17) I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police.
(18) As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life.
(19) I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public.
(20) Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.

SECTION G: CYNICISM THEME ITEMS

(21) Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officers.
(22) Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.
(23) Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest.
(24) Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught.
(25) Most people respect the authority of police officers.
(26) Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officers.
(27) Police officers will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively.
(28) Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officers.
(29) Members of the community will not trust police officers enough to work together effectively.
(30) The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public.

The 30 questions are presented in a five-point Likert-type alternative options scale, varying from '*strongly agree*' to '*strongly disagree*'. The level of measurement on the scales of the 30-item self-report questionnaire is of an ordinal type, denoting that the scales (categories) are mutually exclusive, mutually exhaustive and rank-ordered. For data analysis, every scale was ascribed an arithmetical quantity to recognise disparities (or magnitude) in the participants' replies.

Contrasting items 22, 25, and 28 were reversed scored due to the fact that they were phrased as negative questions. The item measures were of an ordinal type with the numerical data analysed on an interval scale for the function of establishing the category order of the participants' responses, and to ascertain the precise quantities and distances between participants' answers. Moreover, a preliminary investigation was done (before the pre-test) and the factor analysis (VARIMAX procedure) recognised four considerations with eigenvalues greater than 1.5, as

presented in Table 3. Below are the statistics based on the instrument from Dr Steyn's (2005) study

6.5.2 Dr Steyn's factor loadings on eigenvalues > 1.5

Table 3
Factor Loadings eigenvalues > 1.5

Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
3.4625324	2.1932821	1.7459078	1.5539314

(Source: Steyn 2005)

Factor 1 had 0.35 or exceeded fillings on items 30, 24, 21, 29, 27 and 23. These substances were allied with the police culture theme of cynicism. Factor 2 had salient loadings on statements 29, 30 and 25, and as such related to the antonym of cynicism – i.e., optimism, trusting, undoubting and hopeful. Factor 3 had elevated loadings on suppositions 12, 11, 2, 5 and 6. These were associated with the police culture theme of solidarity. Factor 4 had prominent fillings on statements 23, 16, 28, 24 and 14. These items were associated with the police culture theme of isolation. In general, the factor loadings were reasonable to poor and were conceivably influenced by the fact that the suppositions on the survey had been developed with the longitudinal emphasis in mind.

The reliability coefficient of 0.87 for the 30-item self-report police culture questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism was considerably greater than the accepted level of 0.70. A conundrum for operationalising the constructs of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism was their amorphous quality, as the concepts were intricately complex and beyond the scope of this research. As a corollary it was formerly resolved to craft a compound criterion of each scale (scale of solidarity [items 1-10]; scale of isolation [items 11-20]; scale of cynicism [items 21-30]). An invariable process in relation to the

former was repeated for this study (September 2013 until June 2014). Arbitrarily, the critical query apropos the measurement of the constructs was whether each item, based on the literature, was valid on face value as a measure of a dimension of the constructs of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

6.6 Sample

In the former study, the researcher's supervisor had administered the 30-item self-report questionnaire measuring the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a representative sample of all new SAPS recruits who had started their 'basic police training' in January 2005 at every SAPS basic training institute (i.e., in January 2005). Steyn (2006) assessed the same recruits twice more – at the end of their 'college/academy training' (June 2005) as well as at the end of their 'field training' (December 2005). The present study (September 2013 – June 2014) sampled participants purposively from the second post-test contributors (December 2005) to Steyn's study who were still positioned in South Africa a patrol or reactive police officers ten years after the 2005 survey.

Figure 6.1. Map of South Africa reflecting the nine provinces and training centers

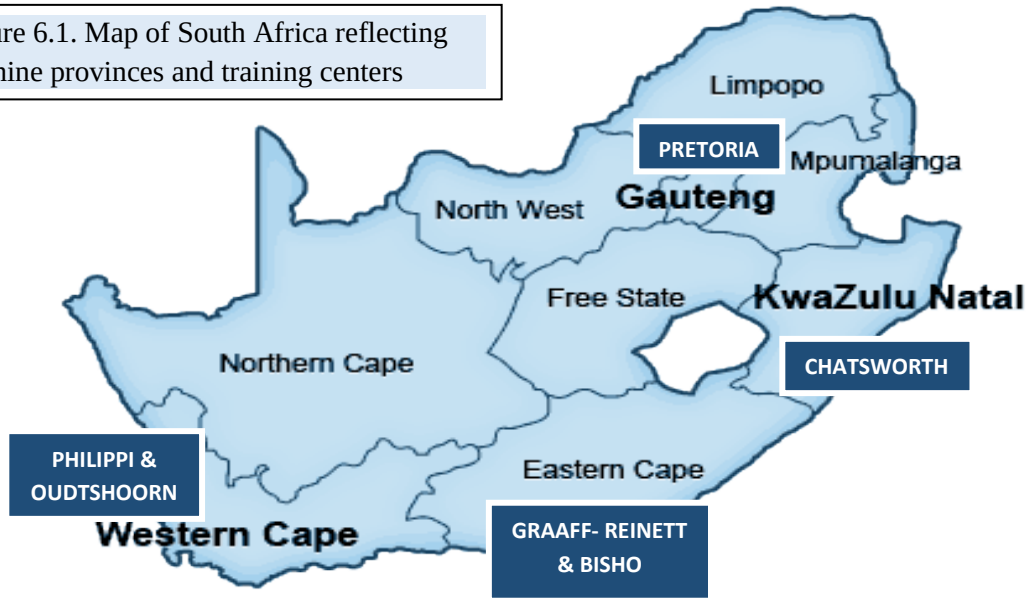

Table 4
Study sample

Assessment	Province	SAPS post	X	*n*	% of X	Attrition rate	Reason/s for not partaking
Time 1 (January 2005) Start of college training Stage: *Choice*			4,350	1,453	33.40	0	
Time 2 (June 2005) End of 'college' training Stage: *Introduction*				1,168	26.85	19.62% (from Time 1)	
Time 3 (December 2005) End of 'field' training Stage: *Encounter*	KZN			870 460	20.00 N/A	25.52% (from Time 2) N/A	

Note. 'X' denotes – population parameters; '*n*' signifies – actual participants; % of 'X'- total sample percentage of the mean population; 'N/A' indicates – not applicable.
Source: Steyn (2005)

The above table portrays the original sample of participants during the first, second and third phase of Steyn's (2005) study. The reasons for the decreasing number of participants included death, suspension, retrenchment and immigration. Some participants were unreachable or not willing to participate.

The fact that the police recruits of Time 3 were no longer on probation at Time 4 could perhaps have swayed some in their decision not to participate in the current study. Moreover, unrealistic expectations on entering the SAPS may not have been met. Non-recognition (none of the Time 3 participants had been promoted [from the rank of Constable to Sergeant] at the Time 4 measurement) might likewise have affected the high attrition rate as indicated in Table 5 below.

Table 5
Complete sample of police recruits for the current study in the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa. Sample distinction between 'patrol officers' and 'detectives' and the sample percentages are reflected.

Assessment	Province	SAPS Patrol officer (proactive)	Post Detective (reactive)	X	*n*	*% of X*
Time 4 (September 2013 – June 2014) 10 years' experience Stage: *Metamorphosis*	Free State	31	2		33	06.34%
	Gauteng	42	20		62	11.92%
	KwaZulu-Natal	76	28		104	20.00%
	Mpumalanga	34	9		43	08.27%
	North West	20	10		30	05.77%
	Northern Cape	55	13		68	13.08%
	Northern Province	28	10		38	07.31%
	Western Cape	70	3		73	14.04%
	Eastern Cape	44	25		69	13.27%
	Total	400	120	520	520	100.00%

Note. 'X' denotes – population parameters; '*n*' signifies – actual participants; % of 'X'- total sample percentage of the mean population; 'N/A' indicates – not applicable.

In terms of ethnicity, Table 5 reveals that the national sample comprising Indian, Coloured and White ethnic groups was underrepresented in comparison to members from the Black ethnic group representing South Africa's population ratio. The table also reflects the numbers representing reactive and proactive sample groups and the sample difference

between the two groups with the proactive officers comprising 77% and the reactive officers 23% of study sample. The disparity in the sample population groups may be attributed to the fact that proactive officers did not further their tertiary education to obtain diplomas or degrees in policing. It is important to note that three questionnaires that had been submitted within the proactive sample and one questionnaire within the reactive sample had to be excluded because they were incomplete.

6.7 Administration of the Survey

The SAPS Head Office: Strategic Research Component to conduct the present research was sought (Annexure A), and a directory of telephone numbers of all police stations in the SAPS (obtained from the SAPS website, www.SAPS.gov.za) was obtained. The contact information of each participant (surname, initials, SAPS personnel number [unique employment number], and location where posted) who had completed the 30-item self-report questionnaire measuring the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism at the conclusion of their field training (second post-test of Steyn's longitudinal study, December 2005) was securely accessed without compromising the confidential nature of their position in the SAPS. The SAPS second post-test contributors were then contacted by telephone (prefaced by the validation of the participants' identity) during September 2013 and June 2014. These officers were telephonically invited to voluntarily complete the study survey.

The survey commenced with socio-biographical questions (rank, age, gender, and ethnicity) as well as the posting and functionality of the police official, as indicated in

Table 6 below. This table presents the reactive and proactive officer roles, hence it is imperative to note that 'reactive' denotes plain clothes detectives and 'proactive' denotes uniformed patrol officers.

Table 6
SAPS police official postings and functionality

Patrol officer (mostly proactive and visible policing duties in uniform)	Detective (mostly reactive/crime investigation duties in plain clothing)
Visible Policing Component	Detective Services Component
Crime Intelligence and Protection Services Component	Criminal Record and Forensic Science Services Component
Operational Response Services Component	

6.8 Problems Encountered

The researcher acknowledges that a myriad of items other than those used in the survey could have been employed to measure the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism, but the fact that the items were limited should not be considered as a limitation. All choices of measures are ultimately approximations of the true construct. The study therefore does not assume a direct correlation between attitude and overt behaviour, nor does it draw conclusions that are generalised to the SAPS as a whole. It is imperative that one is aware of researcher bias and that researchers who study the organisation have predispositions and prior sentiments of the police institution. However, any researcher attempts to eliminate preconceptions, as was the case in this study.

6.9 Conclusion

The current chapter discussed the background of the project's core methodology. Of note were the nature of the sample and the measurement instrument that was used. The ensuing chapter presents the data analysis of the raw data that were obtained from the survey questionnaires.

CHAPTER SEVEN

"The world as we have created it is a process of our own thinking. It cannot be changed without our thinking"
-Albert Einstein-

DATA ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

The current chapter presents the data analysis procedures and results that were implemented using the data obtained at Time 4. The data were obtained by means of a self-report 30-item questionnaire, administered telephonically. An interpretation of the results is provided in Chapter eight.

7.2 Data Analysis Techniques Selected for the Current Study

The selection of appropriate statistical tests in analysing numerical data is in the first instance dependent on the objectives of the study (Stevens, 2002). The distribution and nature of the variables being measured must be weighed against the research questions being asked. Due to the relatively large sample size, it would have been impractical to manually calculate the data, which necessitated the use of computerised processes to conduct the statistical analyses.

The data were broken down into descriptive and inferential statistics. Microsoft Excel 2016 was used to generate much of the descriptive and frequency data. It was also used to capture, 'clean up' and format the raw data. The researcher then utilised the 'Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 23 software' to engage in deeper analyses of the data and to implement inferential testing.

According to Cohen (1977) and Gill (2001), there are two categorical groupings of statistical tests that one can choose between when it comes to analysing numerical data, namely parametric tests (e.g., *t*-test*)* and non-parametric tests (e.g., the Friedman Chi-2 square χ-test).

Parametric tests have certain expectations about the distribution of scores in the population that non-parametric tests do not have, as the population scores must be normally distributed (i.e., have the classic 'bell-shaped' curve and should have a random sample from the population score). Parametric statistics are generally used for interval and ratio scale research while non-parametric statistics are often used for ordinal and nominal scales.

In the current study an alpha criterion (p-value) of .05 (or 5%) was required for an interpretation of statistical significance. Given the current debate (Trafimow & Marks, 2015) around the use of p-values within NHST (Null Hypothesis Significance testing) measures of effect, size was also included.

The level of measurement on the scales of the 30-item self-report questionnaire was of an ordinal nature, meaning that the scales (categories) were mutually exclusive, mutually exhaustive and rank-ordered. Each scale was assigned a numerical value to identify differences (or magnitude) in participants' responses, as indicated below:

4 Strongly Disagree	3 Disagree	2 Agree	1 Strongly Agree	0 I do not have an opinion

It is also important to note that due to the reverse direction of statements 22, 25 and 28, the numerical values for these questions were assigned differently. This difference was therefore taken into account in the analysis of these items and their related composite measures, as depicted below:

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Agree	4 Strongly Agree	0 I do not have an opinion

Although the item scales were of an ordinal nature, the numerical data were analysed on an interval scale for the purpose of determining the category order of the participants' responses and to establish the exact quantities and distances amongst the participants' responses.

Statisticians have determined that if a research study has populations with equal means and the researcher draws samples of size 15 repeatedly and compute a *t*-statistic each time, then 95% of the time *t*-values in the range 2.048 to 2.048 will be obtained. This sampling distribution is extremely important for it gives the researcher a frame of reference for judging what a large value of *t* is. The *t*-statistic informs the researcher of whether the difference in a sample mean is large enough, given sampling error (the sample mean is only an estimate of the population mean and as a consequence it will generally be in error), to suggest that the underlying population means are different. Thus, if the *t*-value is 2.56, it would be very plausible to reject the null hypothesis, therefore accepting that there are no statistically significant changes between groups or sub-groups.

However, there is always a chance that an error may have occurred, because it is possible (although very improbable) to obtain a large *t*-value, even when the population means are equal. This is called a type I error. The researcher must decide how much of a risk he or she is willing to take in possibly making a type I error. Of course, one would want that risk to be small, and many have decided that a 5% risk is small enough (Stevens, 2002:3).

As a consequence, the research sample (discussed in Chapter Six) was selected to be within a 5% variance of the population mean with a 99% confidence level, thus assuming that the distribution of the sample score means would be normal. The alpha criterion value (or statistical level of significance – symbolized as **α**) was selected to be on the > 0.05 and 0.01 stringent level of significance due to the large sample size. The probability of a Type I error (value of ***p)*** was selected to be on the 0.05 or > 0.05 level of significance. Parametric and non-parametric univariate, bivariate and multivariate statistical techniques were selected to analyse the data.

7.3 Description of Reporting and NHST tests

7.3.1 Descriptive reporting of data

Measures of Central Tendency

The mean, mode and median scores were used as a guide to show the average responses of the groups, and then linked to the standard deviation which provides a picture of the distribution on the whole.

Frequency distribution

Systematic presentations of data/scores transformed to percentages, which are called frequency distributions, were used (Klockars & Sax, 1986). Frequency distributions were used to summarise and describe the participants' responses (more or less in magnitude and direction) at Time 4 (third post-test) as indicated in Steyn's (2005) study. Time 4 was identified as the *metamorphosis stage* as it occurred ten years after the participants had entered the SAPS.

7.3.2 Parametric tests

Known parametric tests were used namely analysis of variance (ANOVA) and multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) to determine the significant differences in the mean scores between one and more independent and dependent variables.

Analysis of variance (ANOVA)

This is a set of statistical techniques that is used to uncover the main and interaction effects of categorical independent variables on an interval dependent variable. The key statistic in ANOVA is the F-test of difference of group means, which tests if the means of the groups formed by values of the independent variable (or combinations of values for multiple independent variables) are different enough not to have occurred by chance.

7.3.3 Non-parametric tests

Chi-square

Chi-square is a test of statistical significance for bivariate tabular analysis. The test of statistical significance informs the researcher of the degree of confidence in accepting or rejecting observed differences between participants' demographic characteristics and responses to the 30 items of the self-report questionnaire.

Mann-Whitney U test and Kruskal-Wallis H test

The Mann-Whitney U test and the Kruskal-Wallis H test are referred to as the non-parametric answer to the *t*-test and the ANOVA test respectively. They are better able to handle data that are non-normatively distributed or that are by nature less responsive to parametric testing (such as ordinal data). These tests are referred to as rank mean tests; this refers to the procedure followed which orders all data, consecutively ranks each entry from lowest to highest, and then compares the rank means of each group.

Unlike the ANOVA test in SPSS which includes the calculation of eta squared, the software does not include effect size calculations for non-parametric tests. As a proposed alternative, this study used the PS (Probability of Superiority) calculations proposed by Grissom and Kim (2012). They describe the Probability of Superiority as follows:

> "The PS measures the stochastic (i.e., probabilistic) superiority of one group's scores over another group's scores. Because the PS is a probability and probabilities range from 0 to 1, the PS ranges from 0 to 1. Therefore, the two most extreme results when comparing Populations a and b would be (a)

PS = 0, in which every member of Population a is outscored by every member of Population b; and (b) PS = 1, in which every member of Population *a"*

The proposed measure that was relevant to this study was to use the U statistic already calculated within the Mann-Whitney and divide it by the product of each group size:

$$\hat{p}_{a>b} = \frac{U}{n_a n_b}.$$

7.4 Biographical Information of the Participants

Table 7 below presents the biographical data that were obtained from the research participants during the data collection process, which means that the study utilised self-reported data. The total sample size (*n*) was 533 and was sampled from SAPS settings across the country. The table further indicates that more males (76.4%) than females (23.5%) of the total sample population participated in the study. This presented a statistically significant (X2= 149.481, df=1, p<.001) difference in distribution. This discrepancy may be attributed to prior inconsistencies in employment criteria as well as the fact that the police force is generally considered a male dominated career field. In the past, women were predominantly employed in the SAPS as administrative officers in comparison to male employment for operational responsibility purposes. The imbalance in gender distribution was deemed insignificant for this study.

Table 7 indicates the socio-demographics of participants based on gender, age, race, rank, unit assignment and training college.

Table: 7

Socio-Demographic information of participants with ten (10) years' SAPS experience (2015)

Gender

Sample	*Male♀*	*Female♂*	*No Answer*	*Grand Total*
𝒏	407	125	1	533
%	76.4 %	23.5 %	0.2%	100.00 %

Age Range

Sample	*26 - 30*	*31 – 35*	*36 +*	*No Answer*	*Grand Total*
𝒏	25	414	89	5	533
%	4.7 %	77.7 %	16.7%	0.9 %	100.00

Race

Sample	*Black*	*Indian*	*Coloured*	*White*	*No answer*	*Grand total*
𝒏	422	4	36	69	2	533
%	79.2 %	0.8 %	6.8 %	12.9 %	0.4%	100.00%

Rank

Sample	*Constable*	*Detective*	*Warrant Officer*	*No Answer*	*Grand Total*
𝒏	510	15	4	4	533
%	95.7 %	2.8 %	0.8 %	0.8 %	100.00 %

Unit Assignment

Sample	*Proactive*	*Reactive*	*Support*	*No Answer*	*Grand Total*
𝒏	397	119	5	12	533
%	74.5 %	22.3 %	0.9 %	2.3 %	100.00 %

Training College

Sample	*Bisho*	*Chats-worth*	*Graaff-Reinet*	*Oudtshoorn*	*Phillipi*	*Pretoria*	*No Answer*	*Grand Total*
𝒏	115	15	70	99	32	200	2	533
%	21.6%	2.8%	13.1%	18.6%	6.0%	37.5%	0.4%	100.00 %

Note. '*𝒏*' denotes number; '%' reflects percentage.

A substantial number of participants indicated that they were of the Black ethnic group (79.2%) (i.e., almost 80% of the sample), 12.9% indicated that they were White, 6.8% indicated that they were Coloured, and the smallest group indicated that they were Indian at 0.8%. These respective population percentages were possibly reflective of the ethnicity ratio of citizens in South Africa; according to Statistics South Africa (2014:4) African represent (80.2%), Coloured (8.8%), White (8.4%) and Indian racial group (2.5%) respectively.

The majority of participants fell into the 31-35 age group, which means that they joined the force when they were between 21 and 25 years old. This group was followed by 16.7% in the 36^{+} age group. The youngest participants were between the ages of 26-30 and comprised a mere 4.7% of the sample. This was in line with the general SAPS recruitment protocols and would indicate that most members were recruited in their early 20s,

The majority of the participants came from Pretoria College (37.5%), followed by Bisho College (21.6%), and Oudtshoorn (18.6%). The remainder came from Graaff-Reinet (13.1%), Phillipi (6.0%) and Chatsworth (2.8%). It is important to state that Table 7 indicates the participation of police officers who participated voluntarily in the study. Some officers who had been contacted decided not to participate in the survey, which was probably indicative of adherence to the police culture of isolation. It is also important to note that participants who failed to complete the questionnaire were not considered in the above totals.

7.5 Socio-Demographic Comparison between Proactive and Reactive Officers

Table 8
The difference between reactive and proactive officers by training institution or college

College	Proactive	Proactive %	Reactive	Reactive %	Total	Total %
Bisho	74	66,7%	37	33,3%	111	100,0%
Chatsworth	12	85,7%	2	14,3%	14	100,0%
Graaff-Reinet	51	72,9%	19	27,1%	70	100,0%
Oudtshoorn	85	88,5%	11	11,5%	96	100,0%
Phillipi	30	100,0%	0	0,0%	30	100,0%
Pretoria	144	74,2%	50	25,8%	194	100,0%
No Answer	1	100,0%	0	0,0%	1	100,0%
Grand Total	**397**	**76,9%**	**119**	**23,1%**	**516**	**100,00 100%**

Table 8, represents the distribution of participants who had been trained at each training centre as well as a division in terms of their career progression. The study design determined that all the participants had to have been in the service for the same number of years. The differences that are denoted in the data are that significantly more officers who graduated from Bisho (33.3%), Graaff-Reinet (27.1%) and Pretoria (25.8%) later joined the reactive branch rather than the detective branch. This brings into question the possible issue of training bias within the centres or, alternatively, a self-selecting bias among reactive members who may not have chosen to participate in the study.

Table 9
Rank distinction between constables and detectives

Rank	Proactive	Proactive %	Reactive	Reactive %	Total	Total %
Constable	392	76,0%	102	19,8%	494	95,7%
Detective	0	0,0%	15	2,9%	15	2,9%
Warrant Officer	3	0,6%	1	0,2%	4	0,8%
No Answer	2	0,4%	1	0,2%	3	0,6%
Grand Total	**397**	**76,9%**	**119**	**23,1%**	**516**	**100,0%**

Table 9, portrays the rank distribution of the sample. It is notable that the vast majority of the participants held the rank of *Constable*, which is the lowest rank within the SAPS. According to the SAPS Annual Financial Report 2013/2014, detectives/reactive officers (referred to as commissioned officers) and patrol officers/proactive officers respectively comprised a total of 24 068 and 126 169 in the complete rank system at the time of the report. The statistics presented in Table 9 provide an indication of the ratio between proactive and reactive officers. It is apparent that the majority remained constables and relatively stagnant within the organisation for ten years. It is also interesting to note that 15 members within the Reactive division referred to themselves as *detective*, which is a job description rather than a rank.

Table 10
Gender distribution between female and male officers

Gender	Proactive	Proactive %	Reactive	Reactive %	Total	Total %
Fe-male	86	75,4%	28	24,6%	114	22,1%
Male	310	77,3%	91	22,7%	401	77,7%
No Answer	*1*	*100,0%*	*0*	*0,0%*	*1*	*0,2%*
Grand Total	**397**	**76,9%**	**119**	23,1%	**516**	**100,0%**

Table 10, shows the population ratio of males and females in the sample population as well as their respective unit assignments. As noted previously, there was a distinct and significant difference between the number of males and females within the sample, although this was representative of the general SAPS demographic makeup. That said, when looking at the breakdown of gender between proactive (female=75.4%, male=77.3%) and reactive (female=24.6%, male=22.7%) there was a relatively even distribution of participants in these categories.

Table: 11
An ethnic comparison between the reactive and proactive SAPS officers

Ethnicity	Proactive	Proactive %	Reactive	Reactive %	Total	Total %
Black	309	75,0%	103	25,0%	412	79,8%
Coloured	28	84,8%	5	15,2%	33	6,4%
Indian/Asian	4	100,0%	0	0,0%	4	0,8%
White	54	83,1%	11	16,9%	65	12,6%
No answer	2	100,0%	0	0,0%	2	0,4%
Grand Total	**397**	**76,9%**	**119**	**23,1%**	**516**	**100,0%**

In terms of ethnicity, Table 11, denotes that largest group was the Black ethnic group (*n* =412 or 79,8%), followed by the White group at 12.6% (*n* = 65). The Indian/Asian group was the lowest sample population at 0.8% and comprised a trivial 4 participants. The ethnicity of the sample reflected the statistics of the national populace. It can also be noted that where most of the police officers represented the Black ethnic group, Black officers proportionally formed the highest number of the reactive group of participants as well.

7.6 Frequency distribution of participants' responses

Table :12 Frequency distribution comparing reactive and proactive police official responses to the 30-item police culture questionnaire

POLICE CULTURE THEME OF SOLIDARITY														
	Item	Sample category	Strongly disagree	%	Disagree	%	No opinion	%	Agree	%	Strongly agree	%	Did not complete	%	Row total
1	I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid careers.	*Proactive*	2	0,5%	57	14,4%	2	0,5%	109	27,5%	226	56,9%	1	0,3%	397
		Reactive	2	1,7%	15	12,6%	3	2,5%	36	30,3%	62	52,1%	1	0,8%	119
		Total	4	0,8%	72	14,0%	5	1,0%	145	28,1%	288	55,8%	2	0,4%	516
2	I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements.	*Proactive*	0	0,0%	4	1,0%	2	0,5%	179	45,1%	211	53,1%	1	0,3%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	2	1,7%	0	0,0%	55	46,2%	62	52,1%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	0	0,0%	6	1,2%	2	0,4%	234	45,3%	273	52,9%	1	0,2%	516
3	Police officers are careful of how they behave in public.	*Proactive*	12	3,0%	37	9,3%	7	1,8%	238	59,9%	103	25,9%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	7	5,9%	14	11,8%	1	0,8%	73	61,3%	24	20,2%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	19	3,7%	51	9,9%	8	1,6%	311	60,3%	127	24,6%	0	0,0%	516
4	You don't understand what it is to be a police official until you are a police official.	*Proactive*	1	0,3%	33	8,3%	0	0,0%	151	38,0%	212	53,4%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	6	5,0%	0	0,0%	52	43,7%	61	51,3%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	1	0,2%	39	7,6%	0	0,0%	203	39,3%	273	52,9%	0	0,0%	516
5	Police officers have to look out for each other.	*Proactive*	0	0,0%	6	1,5%	0	0,0%	182	45,8%	209	52,6%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	58	48,7%	60	50,4%	1	0,8%	119
		Total	0	0,0%	6	1,2%	0	0,0%	240	46,5%	269	52,1%	1	0,2%	516

6	Members of the public, the media and politicians are quick to criticize the police but seldom recognize the good that the SAPS members do.	*Proactive*	0	0,0%	6	1,5%	1	0,3%	254	64,0%	136	34,3%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	3	2,5%	1	0,8%	74	62,2%	41	34,5%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	0	0,0%	9	1,7%	2	0,4%	328	63,6%	177	34,3%	0	0,0%	516
7	What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger.	*Proactive*	2	0,5%	38	9,6%	23	5,8%	202	50,9%	132	33,2%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	11	9,2%	9	7,6%	59	49,6%	40	33,6%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	2	0,4%	49	9,5%	32	6,2%	261	50,6%	172	33,3%	0	0,0%	516
8	Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'.	*Proactive*	1	0,3%	54	13,6%	0	0,0%	187	47,1%	154	38,8%	1	0,3%	397
		Reactive	1	0,8%	15	12,6%	1	0,8%	63	52,9%	39	32,8%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	2	0,4%	69	13,4%	1	0,2%	250	48,4%	193	37,4%	1	0,2%	516
9	A good police official takes nothing at face value.	*Proactive*	0	0,0%	4	1,0%	64	16,1%	190	47,9%	139	35,0%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	18	15,1%	54	45,4%	47	39,5%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	0	0,0%	4	0,8%	82	15,9%	244	47,3%	186	36,0%	0	0,0%	516
10	To be a police official is not just another job; it is a 'higher calling'.	*Proactive*	0	0,0%	9	2,3%	0	0,0%	87	21,9%	301	75,8%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	1	0,8%	0	0,0%	31	26,1%	87	73,1%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	0	0,0%	10	1,9%	0	0,0%	118	22,9%	388	75,2%	0	0,0%	516

POLICE CULTURE THEME OF ISOLATION

	Item	Sample category	Strongly disagree	%	Disagree	%	No opinion	%	Agree	%	Strongly agree	%	Did not complete	%	Row total
11	I have tended to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official.	*Proactive*	7	1,8%	102	25,7%	1	0,3%	250	63,0%	37	9,3%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	33	27,7%	0	0,0%	75	63,0%	11	9,2%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	7	1,4%	135	26,2%	1	0,2%	325	63,0%	48	9,3%	0	0,0%	516
12	I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members.	*Proactive*	5	1,3%	120	30,2%	4	1,0%	217	54,7%	50	12,6%	1	0,3%	397
		Reactive	1	0,8%	43	36,1%	0	0,0%	61	51,3%	14	11,8%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	6	1,2%	163	31,6%	4	0,8%	278	53,9%	64	12,4%	1	0,2%	516
13	I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work.	*Proactive*	1	0,3%	6	1,5%	0	0,0%	150	37,8%	237	59,7%	3	0,8%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	1	0,8%	0	0,0%	42	35,3%	75	63,0%	1	0,8%	119
		Total	1	0,2%	7	1,4%	0	0,0%	192	37,2%	312	60,5%	4	0,8%	516
14	Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are.	*Proactive*	1	0,3%	57	14,4%	52	13,1%	161	40,6%	126	31,7%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	26	21,8%	14	11,8%	36	30,3%	43	36,1%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	1	0,2%	83	16,1%	66	12,8%	197	38,2%	169	32,8%	0	0,0%	516
15	My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about.	*Proactive*	46	11,6%	145	36,5%	35	8,8%	115	29,0%	56	14,1%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	14	11,8%	33	27,7%	9	7,6%	44	37,0%	19	16,0%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	60	11,6%	178	34,5%	44	8,5%	159	30,8%	75	14,5%	0	0,0%	516

16	Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the SAPS.	*Proactive*	4	1,0%	142	35,8%	1	0,3%	201	50,6%	48	12,1%	1	0,3%	397
		Reactive	2	1,7%	48	40,3%	1	0,8%	55	46,2%	13	10,9%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	6	1,2%	190	36,8%	2	0,4%	256	49,6%	61	11,8%	1	0,2%	516
17	I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police.	*Proactive*	6	1,5%	77	19,4%	4	1,0%	272	68,5%	38	9,6%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	22	18,5%	0	0,0%	90	75,6%	7	5,9%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	6	1,2%	99	19,2%	4	0,8%	362	70,2%	45	8,7%	0	0,0%	516
18	As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life.	*Proactive*	1	0,3%	13	3,3%	0	0,0%	243	61,2%	140	35,3%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	4	3,4%	0	0,0%	80	67,2%	35	29,4%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	1	0,2%	17	3,3%	0	0,0%	323	62,6%	175	33,9%	0	0,0%	516
19	I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public.	*Proactive*	0	0,0%	35	8,8%	9	2,3%	264	66,5%	89	22,4%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	9	7,6%	1	0,8%	84	70,6%	25	21,0%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	0	0,0%	44	8,5%	10	1,9%	348	67,4%	114	22,1%	0	0,0%	516
20	Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.	*Proactive*	4	1,0%	56	14,1%	14	3,5%	78	19,6%	245	61,7%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	0	0,0%	20	16,8%	8	6,7%	34	28,6%	57	47,9%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	4	0,8%	76	14,7%	22	4,3%	112	21,7%	302	58,5%	0	0,0%	516

POLICE CULTURE THEME OF CYNICISM

	Item	Sample category	Strongly disagree	%	Disagree	%	No opinion	%	Agree	%	Strongly agree	%	Did not complete	%	Row total
21	Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officers.	*Proactive*	1	0,3%	81	20,4%	2	0,5%	247	62,2%	66	16,6%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	1	0,8%	20	16,8%	1	0,8%	72	60,5%	25	21,0%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	2	0,4%	101	19,6%	3	0,6%	319	61,8%	91	17,6%	0	0,0%	516
22	Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.	*Proactive*	29	7,3%	329	82,9%	0	0,0%	38	9,6%	1	0,3%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	9	7,6%	98	82,4%	0	0,0%	11	9,2%	1	0,8%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	38	7,4%	427	82,8%	0	0,0%	49	9,5%	2	0,4%	0	0,0%	516
23	Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest.	*Proactive*	1	0,3%	76	19,1%	2	0,5%	288	72,5%	29	7,3%	1	0,3%	397
		Reactive	3	2,5%	26	21,8%	1	0,8%	77	64,7%	12	10,1%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	4	0,8%	102	19,8%	3	0,6%	365	70,7%	41	7,9%	1	0,2%	516
24	Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught.	*Proactive*	1	0,3%	43	10,8%	2	0,5%	175	44,1%	176	44,3%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	1	0,8%	20	16,8%	1	0,8%	52	43,7%	45	37,8%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	2	0,4%	63	12,2%	3	0,6%	227	44,0%	221	42,8%	0	0,0%	516
25	Most people respect the authority of police officers.	*Proactive*	14	3,5%	234	58,9%	0	0,0%	104	26,2%	45	11,3%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	4	3,4%	64	53,8%	0	0,0%	30	25,2%	21	17,6%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	18	3,5%	298	57,8%	0	0,0%	134	26,0%	66	12,8%	0	0,0%	516

26	Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officers.	*Proactive*	5	1,3%	126	31,7%	0	0,0%	226	56,9%	40	10,1%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	3	2,5%	40	33,6%	0	0,0%	59	49,6%	17	14,3%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	8	1,6%	166	32,2%	0	0,0%	285	55,2%	57	11,0%	0	0,0%	516
27	Police officers will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively.	*Proactive*	31	7,8%	179	45,1%	1	0,3%	160	40,3%	26	6,5%	0	0,0%	397
		Reactive	12	10,1%	61	51,3%	1	0,8%	38	31,9%	7	5,9%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	43	8,3%	240	46,5%	2	0,4%	198	38,4%	33	6,4%	0	0,0%	516
28	Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officers.	*Proactive*	18	4,5%	264	66,5%	0	0,0%	94	23,7%	20	5,0%	1	0,3%	397
		Reactive	3	2,5%	85	71,4%	0	0,0%	28	23,5%	3	2,5%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	21	4,1%	349	67,6%	0	0,0%	122	23,6%	23	4,5%	1	0,2%	516
29	Members of the community will not trust police officers enough to work together effectively.	*Proactive*	45	11,3%	199	50,1%	1	0,3%	126	31,7%	25	6,3%	1	0,3%	397
		Reactive	16	13,4%	66	55,5%	0	0,0%	30	25,2%	7	5,9%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	61	11,8%	265	51,4%	1	0,2%	156	30,2%	32	6,2%	1	0,2%	516
30	The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public.	*Proactive*	58	14,6%	155	39,0%	3	0,8%	147	37,0%	30	7,6%	4	1,0%	397
		Reactive	13	10,9%	57	47,9%	0	0,0%	39	32,8%	10	8,4%	0	0,0%	119
		Total	71	13,8%	212	41,1%	3	0,6%	186	36,0%	40	7,8%	4	0,8%	516

Note. '%' denotes percentage.

7.7 Individual items

7.7.1 Police Culture Theme of Solidarity

With regards to items 1-10, the sample relatively consistently answered *Agree* and *Strongly agree*. Both proactive participants and reactive participants shared the direction of the sentiments in all the solidarity questions. Very few participants answered that they *Disagreed* or *Strongly disagreed*. The question in this set with the highest percentage of negative answers was question 1, where 14,8% of the sample either *Disagreed* or *Strongly disagreed*. Notably, while participants *Agreed* and to a lesser extent *Disagreed* with the question text, very few answered *No opinion*, showing an interesting polarisation in opinions.

Table 13
Cross tabulation of question 2

Unit * Question 2 Cross tabulation

			No response or opinion	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Unit	Proactive	Count	2	4	179	211	396
		% within Unit	0.5%	1.0%	45.2%	53.3%	100.0%
	Reactive	Count	0	2	55	62	119
		% within Unit	0.0%	1.7%	46.2%	52.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	2	6	234	273	515
		% within Unit	0.4%	1.2%	45.4%	53.0%	100.0%

% denotes percentage

Table 13, indicates a relatively similar resemblance between proactive officers (53.3%) and reactive officers (52.1%) who *Strongly agreed* and *Agreed* at (45.2%) and (46.2%) respectively in their responses to item 2 (*I feel it is my duty to rid the country of it's bad elements*). As a general statement, one would expect proactive officers to have slightly different attitudes in comparison to reactive officers, but this was not the case.

Table 14
Cross tabulation question 3

Unit * Question 3 Cross tabulation

			No response or opinion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Unit	Proactive	Count	7	12	37	238	103	397
		% within Unit	1.8%	3.0%	9.3%	59.9%	25.9%	100.0%
	Reactive	Count	1	7	14	73	24	119
		% within Unit	0.8%	5.9%	11.8%	61.3%	20.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	19	51	311	127	516
		% within Unit	1.6%	3.7%	9.9%	60.3%	24.6%	100.0%

% denotes' percentage

The statement in item 3 (*Police officers are careful of how they behave in public)* would generally apply to proactive officers who have to be conscious of their behaviour in public because of their distinct appearance in an identifiable uniform, whereas reactive officers generally blend in with the public as they wear plain clothes. Reactive officers agreed at 59.9% and proactive officers at 61.3% with this statement.

Table 15
Cross tabulation of question 9

Unit * Question 9 Cross tabulation

			No response or opinion	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Unit	Proactive	Count	64	4	190	139	397
		% within Unit	16.1%	1.0%	47.9%	35.0%	100.0%
	Reactive	Count	18	0	54	47	119
		% within Unit	15.1%	0.0%	45.4%	39.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	82	4	244	186	516
		% within Unit	15.9%	0.8%	47.3%	36.0%	100.0%

% denotes' percentage

With reference to the statement in item 9 (*A good police officer takes nothing at face value*), it was expected that reactive officers would tend to agree more with the statement than proactive officers, as proactive officers generally stabilise a crime scene and do not investigate the crime, in comparison with reactive officers who investigate crime scenes. However, the responses to this item were fairly similar as they reflected 45.4% agreement by reactive and 47.9% of agreement by proactive respondents. This may be attributed to the fact that proactive officers are usually first called to a crime scene which they secure before the reactive force arrives.

Table 16

Mean average comparison of reactive and proactive participants' responses to the 30-item police culture themes questionnaire – questions 1 to 10 (Solidarity)

	Question Text	Proactive		Reactive		Total	
1	I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid careers.	3,40	85,0%	3,29	82,2%	3,38	84,4%
2	I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements.	3,51	87,7%	3,50	87,6%	3,51	87,7%
3	Police officers are careful of how they behave in public.	3,05	76,3%	2,94	73,5%	3,03	75,7%
4	You don't understand what it is like being a police official until you are one.	3,45	86,1%	3,46	86,6%	3,45	86,2%
5	Police officers have to look out for one another.	3,51	87,8%	3,51	87,7%	3,51	87,8%
6	Members of the public, the media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognise the good that SAPS members do.	3,32	83,0%	3,29	82,4%	3,31	82,8%
7	What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger.	3,05	76,3%	3,02	75,4%	3,04	76,1%
8	Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'.	3,25	81,2%	3,16	79,0%	3,23	80,7%
9	A good police official takes nothing at face value.	2,86	71,4%	2,94	73,5%	2,88	71,9%
10	To be a police official is not just another job; it is a 'higher calling'.	3,74	93,4%	3,72	93,1%	3,73	93,3%

Table 16, shows the average values for each of the theme questions. A cut-off point of 60% was used to determine the presence of police culture. What is clearly revealed by Table 12 is that the answering trend was significantly above this point. (The lowest scoring question was Q9 which averaged at 71.9%.)

What can also clearly be seen is the consistency between the answers of both reactive and proactive members. While this was expected in most cases, some questions should

logically have shown different answering patterns. For example, Question 3 (*Police officers are careful of how they behave in public*) should have shown some deviation as reactive members (73,5%) tend to dress in plain clothes, making them far less visible than their uniformed (76.3%) counterparts.

Table 17

Statistical significance between reactive and proactive SAPS officers (Solidarity)

Question Number	Chi Squared X^2	df	p	M-W Z	M-W U	M-W p	Effect Size $\hat{P} =_{a>b}$
Q1	6,34	4	0,175	-0,919	22200,500	0,358	0,470
Q2	1,00	3	0,801	-0,235	23271,500	0,815	0,493
Q3	4,36	4	0,359	-1,551	21686,500	0,121	0,459
Q4	2,42	3	0,490	-0,056	23550,000	0,955	0,498
Q5	2,05	2	0,358	-0,200	23176,000	0,841	0,491
Q6	1,40	3	0,705	-0,171	23417,500	0,865	0,496
Q7	1,11	4	0,893	-0,091	23503,500	0,928	0,498
Q8	5,74	4	0,219	-1,037	22217,000	0,300	0,470
Q9	1,89	3	0,596	-0,877	22472,500	0,381	0,476
Q10	1,74	2	0,420	-0,508	23077,500	0,611	0,488

The above table represents the results of the non-parametric tests run on each of the solidarity theme questions. The above portrays the chi-squared values along with their significance. Mann-Whitney values with their significance levels as well as the mean ranks and the effect size are also presented. Across all questions there was no significant difference in distribution of scores, either by answering patterns (chi-squared) or in degree (Mann-Whitney). Similarly, the effect size calculations showed results very close to the null point of .5. In total, this shows that there was almost no difference between the two groups in terms of their answers, and thus in terms of their perceptions regarding the theme of solidarity.

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7.7.2 Individual Items – Police Culture Theme of Isolation

Table 12 reflects that, with the majority of the items (11-20), both the proactive and reactive police participants again preferred the *Agree* option. However, in deviating from the answering patterns of the solidarity theme, the participants here also answered *Disagree*, although to a far lesser extent. The participants thus shied away from the more extreme *Strongly agree* responses.

Table 18
Cross tabulation of question 13

Unit * Question 13 Cross tabulation

			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Unit	Proactive	Count	1	6	150	237	394
		% within Unit	0.3%	1.5%	38.1%	60.2%	100.0%
	Reactive	Count	0	1	42	75	118
		% within Unit	0.0%	0.8%	35.6%	63.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	1	7	192	312	512
		% within Unit	0.2%	1.4%	37.5%	60.9%	100.0%

% denotes' percentage

Table 18, indicates strong agreement with the statement '*I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work*'. In this instance it was astonishing that 60.2% of the proactive officers *Strongly agreed* with this statement, specifically because they are mandated to create and maintain positive relationships with the public, whilst 63.6% of reactive officers *Strongly agreed*, probably because they are are legally bound to conceal and not disclose official SAPS work.

Table 19
Cross tabulation question 18

Unit * Question 18 Cross tabulation

			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Unit	Proactive	Count	1	13	243	140	397
		% within Unit	0.3%	3.3%	61.2%	35.3%	100.0%
	Reactive	Count	0	4	80	35	119
		% within Unit	0.0%	3.4%	67.2%	29.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	1	17	323	175	516
		% within Unit	0.2%	3.3%	62.6%	33.9%	100.0%

% denotes' percentage

Table 19, illustrates the responses to the statement: '*As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life*'. Considering that the community is able to observe proactive members their response at 61.2% appeared logical because they are in uniform and are easily recognised; however, respondents from the reactive group agreed by 67.2% although they are able to blend into society.

Table 20
Cross tabulation question 19

Unit * Question 19 Cross tabulation

			No response or opinion	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Unit	Proactive	Count	9	35	264	89	397
		% within Unit	2.3%	8.8%	66.5%	22.4%	100.0%
	Reactive	Count	1	9	84	25	119
		% within Unit	0.8%	7.6%	70.6%	21.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	10	44	348	114	516
		% within Unit	1.9%	8.5%	67.4%	22.1%	100.0%

% denotes' percentage

Table 20, reflects the responses to the statement: '*I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public*'. Remarkably, 66.5% of proactive and 70.6% of reactive officers selected the *Agree* option. Taking into consideration reactive officers don't spend a considerable amount of time with colleagues.

Table 21

Mean average comparison of reactive and proactive participants' responses to the 30-item police culture themes questionnaire – questions 11 to 20 (Isolation)

	Question Text	Proactive		Reactive		Total	
11	I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official.	2,79	69,84%	2,82	70,38%	2,80	69,96%
12	I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members.	2,77	69,19%	2,74	68,49%	2,76	69,03%
13	I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work.	3,58	89,53%	3,63	90,68%	3,59	89,79%
14	Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are.	2,78	69,40%	2,79	69,75%	2,78	69,48%
15	My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about.	2,28	56,99%	2,42	60,50%	2,31	57,80%
16	Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the SAPS.	2,73	68,37%	2,65	66,18%	2,71	67,86%
17	I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police.	2,84	71,03%	2,87	71,85%	2,85	71,22%
18	As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life.	3,31	82,87%	3,26	81,51%	3,30	82,56%
19	I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public.	3,07	76,70%	3,11	77,73%	3,08	76,94%
20	Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.	3,35	83,75%	3,11	77,73%	3,29	82,36%

As could be expected from the answering patterns discussed above, answers to statements pertaining to the isolation theme were notably more moderate than the responses to the questions addressing the solidarity theme. The exceptions were item 13 (*I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work*) which reflected 89,79% agreement, and item 18 (*As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life*) with a mean average of (82.87%) and (81.51%) respectively.

That being said, all but one question fell above the 60% cut-off point for indicators of the presence of the isolation police culture. Item 15 (*My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about*) was scored at 57,80%, which was just below the cut-off point. This was in large part due to the responses of the proactive members, indicating that patrol officers were more open with their families about their work than the reactive unit members.

Table 22

Statistical significance between reactive and proactive SAPS officers (Isolation)

Question Number	Chi Squared X^2	df	p	M-W Z	M-W U	M-W p	Effect Size $\hat{P} =_{a>b}$
Q11	2,54	4	0,637	-0,093	23507,500	0,926	0,498
Q12	2,59	4	0,628	-0,708	22655,000	0,479	0,480
Q13	0,92	3	0,820	-0,722	22381,500	0,470	0,474
Q14	6,71	4	0,152	-0,060	23540,000	0,952	0,498
Q15	4,35	4	0,361	-1,384	21723,000	0,166	0,460
Q16	2,15	4	0,707	-1,128	22103,000	0,259	0,468
Q17	5,13	4	0,275	-0,141	23460,000	0,888	0,497
Q18	1,76	3	0,625	-1,082	22315,000	0,279	0,472
Q19	1,44	3	0,696	-0,185	23403,500	0,853	0,495
Q20	10,19	4	0,037	-2,496	20464,500	0,013	0,433

As with the solidarity theme questions, the responses pertaining to the isolation theme showed no statistically significant difference between the reactive and proactive respondents, with the exception of the responses to item 20. The isolation questions reflected no true difference in either answering patterns (chi-squared) or in degrees of police culture adherence (Mann-Whitney). The only statistically significant item was question 20 (*Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level*), where proactive members showed a slightly higher agreement (83,75%) than the reactive members (77,73%).

7.7.3 Individual Items – Police Culture Theme of Cynicism

Table 23

Mean average comparison of proactive and reactive participants' responses to the 30-item police culture themes questionnaire – Questions 11 - 20 (Cynicism)

	Question Text	Proactive		Reactive		Total	
21	Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officers.	2,94	73,55%	3,00	75,00%	2,96	73,89%
22	Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.	2,03	50,69%	2,03	50,84%	2,03	50,73%
23	Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest.	2,86	71,53%	2,81	70,17%	2,85	71,21%
24	Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught.	3,31	82,87%	3,17	79,20%	3,28	82,03%
25	Most people respect the authority of police officers.	2,45	61,34%	2,57	64,29%	2,48	62,02%
26	Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officers.	2,76	68,95%	2,76	68,91%	2,76	68,94%
27	Police officers will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively.	2,45	61,27%	2,32	57,98%	2,42	60,51%
28	Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officers.	2,29	57,32%	2,26	56,51%	2,29	57,14%
29	Members of the community will not trust police officers enough to work together effectively.	2,33	58,14%	2,24	55,88%	2,30	57,62%
30	The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public.	2,36	59,10%	2,39	59,66%	2,37	59,23%

Table 24

Cross tabulation question 22

Unit * Question 22 Cross tabulation

			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Unit	Proactive	Count	29	329	38	1	397
		% within Unit	7.3%	82.9%	9.6%	0.3%	100.0%
	Reactive	Count	9	98	11	1	119
		% within Unit	7.6%	82.4%	9.2%	0.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	38	427	49	2	516
		% within Unit	7.4%	82.8%	9.5%	0.4%	100.0%

% denotes' percentage

Table 24, reflects the statistical findings pertaining to the statement: '*Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble*'. Surprisingly, an equivalent response indicating the *disagree* option between the reactive (82.4%) and proactive (82.9%) officers was received. This was a surprising finding as one would have expected the reaction officers to maintain favourable attitudes in this regard.

Table 25
Cross tabulation question 26

Unit * Question 26 Cross tabulation

			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Unit	Proactive	Count	5	126	226	40	397
		% within Unit	1.3%	31.7%	56.9%	10.1%	100.0%
	Reactive	Count	3	40	59	17	119
		% within Unit	2.5%	33.6%	49.6%	14.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	166	285	57	516
		% within Unit	1.6%	32.2%	55.2%	11.0%	100.0%

% denotes percentage

The results reflected in Table 25, imply that police officers held the cynical notion that '*Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officers*', as the majority of the reactive officers (49.6%) and proactive officers (56.9%) agreed with this statement. It had been expected that a larger percentage of proactive officers would agree with this statement as a result of confrontational and aggressive citizen encounters.

Table 26
Cross tabulation of question 28

Unit * Question 28 Cross tabulation

			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Unit	Proactive	Count	18	264	94	20	396
		% within Unit	4.5%	66.7%	23.7%	5.1%	100.0%
	Reactive	Count	3	85	28	3	119
		% within Unit	2.5%	71.4%	23.5%	2.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	21	349	122	23	515
		% within Unit	4.1%	67.8%	23.7%	4.5%	100.0%

% denotes percentage

Table 26, reflects the results for the statement: *Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officers.* As a result of the direction of the statement, the reactive officers *Disagreed* at 71.4% and the proactive officers also *Disagreed* at 66.7%, whereas both groups agreed at only $\pm$ 23%.

The responses to items 21 to 30 (cynicism theme) varied between *Disagree* and *Agree.* A combined total of 82.8% for both reactive and proactive participants *Disagreed* with item 22 *(Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble)* due to its direction. The majority of the respondents - 53.8% of the reactive officers and 58.9% of the proactive police officers – *Disagreed* with item 25 *(Most people respect the authority of police officers).* More than 30% of both the reactive and proactive participants *Disagreed* on item 26, and on item 27 *(Police officers will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively)* 45.1% of the proactive respondents and 51.3% of the reactive participants *Disagreed* with the statement, whereas only a combined total of 38.4% *Agreed*. Referring to item 28 *(Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police official),* due to the direction of the statement 66.5% of proactive and 71/.4% of reactive officers *disagreed.* However, it is important to note that a collective total of 23.6% of respondents *agreed* with the sentiments of the statement. On item 29 *(Members of the community will not trust police officers enough to work together effectively),* 50.1% of the proactive and 55.5% of reactive police officers *Disagreed* with the statement, while only 30.2% *Agreed*.

With regards to item 30 *(The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public),* 39.0% of proactive and 47.9% of reactive officers surprisingly *Disagreed,* whereas 36.0% of reactive and proactive officers *Agreed*. A majority of participants therefore *Disagreed* on items 22 (negative item), 25 (negative item), 27 and 28 (negative items), and items 29 and 30.

Table 27

Statistical significance between reactive and proactive SAPS officers (Cynicism)

Question Number	Chi Squared X^2	df	p	M-W Z	M-W U	M-W p	Effect Size $\hat{P} =_{a>b}$
Q21	2,64	4	,619	-1,045	22329,500	0,296	0,473
Q22	0,84	3	,840	-,017	23606,000	0,987	0,500
Q23	8,27	4	,082	-,651	22823,500	0,515	0,483
Q24	4,59	4	,333	-1,750	2134,500	0,080	0,452
Q25	3,32	3	,345	-1,307	21966,500	0,191	0,465
Q26	3,40	3	,333	-,070	23532,500	0,944	0,498
Q27	3,87	4	,424	-1,731	21356,000	0,084	0,452
Q28	2,54	3	,468	-,355	23147,000	0,723	0,490
Q29	2,46	4	,651	-1,276	21903,500	0,202	0,464
Q30	4,06	4	,397	-,002	23381,000	0,998	0,495

Table 27 shows similar outcomes as those pertaining to the themes of isolation and solidarity. Again, there was no real difference between the groups on the metrics of answering patterns (chi squared), degree of difference (Mann-Whitney), and effect size.

7.7.4 Individual items – Conclusion

It is important to note that on items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20 and 21, the similarity in the responses from the proactive officers and the reactive officers remained consistent between *Agree* and *Strongly agree.* For example, the responses to item 2 (*I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements)* revealed that 45.1% of the proactive and 46.2% of the reactive officers *Agreed*, while the responses pertaining to *n*=211 showed that 53.1% of the proactive and 52.1% of reactive officers *Strongly agreed*. Hence it is imperative that we note that the responses to the items varied by only a few degrees. Furthermore, the responses to item 19 (*I can be more open with work colleagues than with members of the police)* depicted a resemblance in thought and attitude between the reactive and proactive groups, as 66.5% of the proactive members and 70.6% of the reactive

respondents *agreed* with this statement. Minor variations in percentages were observed, such as that the responses of 22.4% of proactive and 21.0% of reactive officers ranged between *Disagree* and *Agree* in terms of items 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30. Table 12 indicates that in terms of item 16 (*Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the SAPS),* 40.3% reactive and 35.8% of proactive officers *Disagreed;* however 50.6% of the proactive and 46.2% of the reactive officers *Agreed* with the statement.

With regards to the theme of cynicism, closer inspection of item 23 *(Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest*) revealed that an astonishing 72.5% of the proactive and 64.7% of the reactive police officers *Agreed* with this statement. This finding shows that combined, more than 70% of the police officers considered outsiders and possibly insiders to be deceitful and mendacious, which largely contributes towards an attitude of cynicism and the inability of police officers to have unwavering working affiliations with the community. More specifically, the analysis revealed that, on item 13 *(I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work),* a collective 37.2% chose the option *Agree* and a further 60.5% chose *Strongly agree*. This means that 95% of the officers affirmed the statement that 'people outside' could not be trusted, which strongly reflected a hostile and distrustful attitude among the majority of the police officers towards the communities they served. The statement in item 26 implied that people did not respect the police enough, which was not supported by 32.2% of participants as they *Disagreed* with the statement.

Differences of kind were observed on items 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30. However, variations were significant within both groups, as was dualistic agreement. It is notable that reactive and proactive officers tended to *Agree* or *Strongly*

agree with the statement in item 6, as they felt that the public, the media and politicians hastily critiqued the police yet failed to highlight the beneficial work done by members of the SAPS.

In summary, on micro level the data that were presented above indicated that reactive and proactive officers with 10 years' organisational experience considered their occupation to be dangerous in an often hostile environment. They found their vocation strenuous and held attitudes that their functions can only be performed by individuals who encompass the traits that are evident in SAPS officers. The media, politicians and citizens are deemed as 'outsiders' who have limited comprehension of police work, and for this reason police officers in both the proactive and reactive units tend to isolate themselves from friends, family and the community and to associate with fellow members and individuals within their occupational circle.

7.8 Focus Area: KwaZulu-Natal Province

Attention is given to the KwaZulu-Natal province for the reason that the study received the highest number of participants from this province and because the researcher lives and works in this province. Table 28 is a frequency summary of reactive and proactive group responses to the 30-item questionnaire from respondents within KwaZulu-Natal.

Table 28

KwaZulu-Natal Province

Frequency summary comparisons between proactive and reactive officers' responses to the 30-item self-report questionnaire measuring the police cultures solidarity, isolation and cynicism

Item	Strongly Agree		Agree		No Opinion		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Did Not Complete	
	DET	PAT	DET	PAT	DET	PAT	DET	PAT	DET	PAT	DET	PAT
Police culture theme of solidarity												
1 I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid vocations	60.71	60.52	25.00	19.73	03.57	01.36	07.14	78.42	03.57	00.00	00.00	00.00
2 I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements	60.71	56.58	39.29	42.10	00.00	01.31	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
3 Police officers are careful of how they behave in public	32.14	22.37	53.57	57.89	00.00	00.00	03.57	10.53	10.71	09.21	00.00	00.00
4 You don't understand what it is like being a police official until you are one	64.29	55.26	32.14	42.10	00.00	00.00	03.57	02.63	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
5 Police officers have to look out for one another	64.28	51.32	35.71	47.37	00.00	00.00	00.00	01.32	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
6 Members of the public, the media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognize the good that SAPS members do	53.57	38.16	42.89	59.21	00.00	00.00	00.00	02.63	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
7 What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger	42.86	36.84	28.57	46.05	10.71	03.95	17.86	11.84	00.00	01.32	00.00	00.00
8 Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'	42.86	38.16	57.14	51.31	00.00	00.00	00.00	10.53	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
9 A good police official takes nothing at face value	42.86	40.79	32.14	52.63	25.00	06.58	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
10 To be a police official is not just another job; it is a 'higher calling'	64.28	75.00	35.71	23.68	00.00	00.00	00.00	01.32	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
Police culture theme of isolation												
11 I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official	17.86	17.11	57.14	61.84	00.00	00.00	25.00	21.05	0.000	00.00	00.00	00.00
12 I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members	07.14	15.79	57.14	63.16	00.00	01.31	35.71	19.74	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
13 I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work	50.00	59.21	50.00	39.47	00.00	01.32	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
14 Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are	32.14	43.42	28.57	31.58	00.00	00.00	25.00	12.16	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
15 My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about	07.14	14.47	39.29	31.58	14.29	07.89	35.71	34.21	03.57	11.84	00.00	00.00
16 Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the SAPS	14.28	14.47	46.43	56.58	00.00	00.00	39.28	28.95	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
17 I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police	10.71	14.47	71.43	76.32	00.00	00.00	17.86	09.21	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
18 As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life	35.71	39.47	64.29	60.53	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
19 I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public	21.43	26.31	64.29	68.42	00.00	01.31	14.29	03.95	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
20 Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level	39.28	64.47	21.43	15.79	17.86	06.58	21.43	11.84	00.00	01.32	00.00	00.00
Police culture theme of cynicism												
21 Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officers	07.14	22.37	71.43	53.95	03.57	01.31	17.86	22.37	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
22 Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble	00.00	00.00	10.71	11.84	00.00	00.00	82.14	86.84	07.14	01.32	00.00	00.00
23 Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest	14.77	03.95	57.14	77.63	00.00	01.31	28.57	17.11	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
24 Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught	28.57	46.05	64.29	40.79	00.00	00.00	07.14	13.16	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
25 Most people respect the authority of police officers	10.71	07.89	21.43	32.89	00.00	00.00	67.86	53.95	00.00	05.26	00.00	00.00
26 Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officers	14.29	06.58	46.43	47.37	00.00	00.00	35.71	44.74	03.57	01.31	00.00	00.00
27 Police officers will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively	00.00	10.53	28.57	21.05	00.00	00.00	64.29	51.89	07.14	10.53	00.00	00.00
28 Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officers	00.00	00.00	25.00	28.95	00.00	00.00	75.00	71.05	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00
29 Members of the community will not trust police officers enough to work together effectively	07.14	06.58	17.86	22.37	00.00	00.00	71.43	60.53	03.57	10.53	00.00	00.00
30 The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public	07.14	10.53	25.00	25.00	00.00	00.00	64.29	46.05	03.57	18.42	00.00	00.00

Note. 'PO' denotes Patrol officer and 'DET' denotes Detective.

The above table is an overview of the KwaZulu-Natal Province only and is highlighted to reflect a difference in degree and the significant similarity in kind between reactive and proactive police officers' views. The blue shading emphasizes the similarity between the groups; this is evident in statements 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 30. The green shading represents a difference in degree on statements 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29 and 30. The results depict similarity between the two groups in support of the traditional police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism within the KwaZulu-Natal province. The tables below will attempt to analyse the frequency summary of the 30-item questionnaire completed by reactive and proactive police officers in the KwaZulu-Natal province.

In terms of overall frequency, Table 28, indicates that the majority of participants tended to *Strongly agree* and *Agree* with the statements pertaining to the solidarity theme – i.e., items 1-10. However, there were subtle differences in kind. The detective participants were inclined to *Strongly agree,* with the exception of item 10, "to be a police official is not just another job; it is a higher calling", while the patrol participants *Strongly agreed* by more than 10.72% Furthermore, on items 6, 7 and 9 the detective participants portrayed a stronger sense of agreement. In relation to an overall evaluation of the isolation items (11-20), most of the participants either *Agreed* or *Strongly agreed*; however, the proactive participants had stronger attitudes in support of police culture isolation compared to their detective counterparts. On closer inspection, there was a difference in degree on item 20 to which patrol officers *Strongly agreed* by an astonishing 25.19% higher margin when compared to the detective participants, thus asserting the view that senior management police officers are out of touch with reality in terms of

the daily struggles experienced at subordinate levels.

The presence of a difference in kind occurred on item 15, when detective participants agreed that family and loved ones were unable to comprehend the adversities that encompassed the profession of a police official, whilst patrol participants were ambivalent in their responses. In general, the majority of the participants either *Agreed* or *Strongly agreed* with the cynicism items (21-30). Excluded were items 27, 29 and 30 to which both groups, detectives and patrol officers, collectively *Disagreed*. On a categorical level, patrol members leaned towards stronger attitudes in support of the police culture cynicism comparison to the detective participants, as was revealed in an analysis of the responses to items 21, 25 and 28. These items thematically posit the distrust of the public in police officers and the system and, similarly, the disrespect the police hold for the public in which they police.

7.9 Comparing Reactive and Proactive Participant Responses

This section aims to operationalise the hypotheses of the study and to test them for statistical significance. Reactive refers to plain clothes officers and proactive refers to officers who wear uniform in the SAPS.

Hypothesis 1: The police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism are present in SAPS reactive and proactive officers with ten years' experience.

Hypothesis 2: Proactive officers in the SAPS with ten years' experience have different attitudes towards the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism compared to reactive officers in the SAPS with ten years' experience.

This section covers the theoretical premises of the significance tests, descriptive statistics, and inferential analyses of the measures and finally offers conclusions.

The study instrument included 30 questions which were divided by three themes.

7.10 Tests for normality

7.10.1 Tests for normality: solidarity, isolation and cynicism

Table 29

Tests for normality: aggregated variables (solidarity, isolation, cynicism and sum total)

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
SumSolidarity	.103	533	.000	.973	533	.000
SumIsolation	.112	533	.000	.968	533	.000
SumCynicism	.077	533	.000	.986	533	.000
SumTotal	.076	533	.000	.979	533	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

The Kolmogorov- Smirnov test for normality depicted aggregated variables for all three the police culture themes (solidarity, isolation, and cynicism) and the sum total was non-normally distributed. Therefore, the total P for each of the three themes was less than ,001. The boxplots below, contain relevant images that explain the differences.

Breakdown of solidarity across unit type

Table 30

Mean score and mean score percentage measuring the police culture theme of solidarity (SumSolidarity)

Unit Type	**N**	$(\bar{X})$	**%**	**Min**	**%**	**Max**	**%**	**Range**	**%**
Proactive	397	33,11	82.8%	22	55.0%	40	100%	18	45.0%
Reactive	119	32,78	82.0%	20	50.0%	40	100%	20	50.0%
Support	5	35,80	89.5%	33	82.5%	39	97.5%	6	15.0%
No Response	*12*	*33,75*	*84.4%*	*25*	*62.5%*	*38*	*95.0%*	*13*	*32.5%*
SumSolidarity	**533**	**33,07**	**82.7%**	**20**	**50.0%**	**40**	**100%**	**20**	**50.0%**

Note. 'N' represents number of participants, '$(\bar{X})$'denotes mean score and '%' signifies percentage.

Table 30, (SumSolidarity) presents the cumulative mean scores in relation to statements 1-10 of the 30-item questionnaire in terms of the police culture theme of solidarity. As can be seen above, the mean score for the proactive officers was $\bar{X}$ = 33,11 and for the reactive officers it was $\bar{X}$ = 33,11. This relatively minor difference between the two groups is suggestive of the similarities between the officers' views, even though the respondents represented two different units (or *cliques*) within the SAPS. Both groups showed very high mean levels of solidarity (82.8% and 82.0%). Also, both had a similar minimum (22 and 20 respectively) value within their sets, and both groups had participants who maxed out the possible value for the variable. Moreover, the lowest scoring participants within each group, while distancing themselves from ideas of solidarity within the police culture, did not fully reject these ideas.

Table 31
Anova analysis of SumSolidarity on IV of unit assignment

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: SumSolidarity

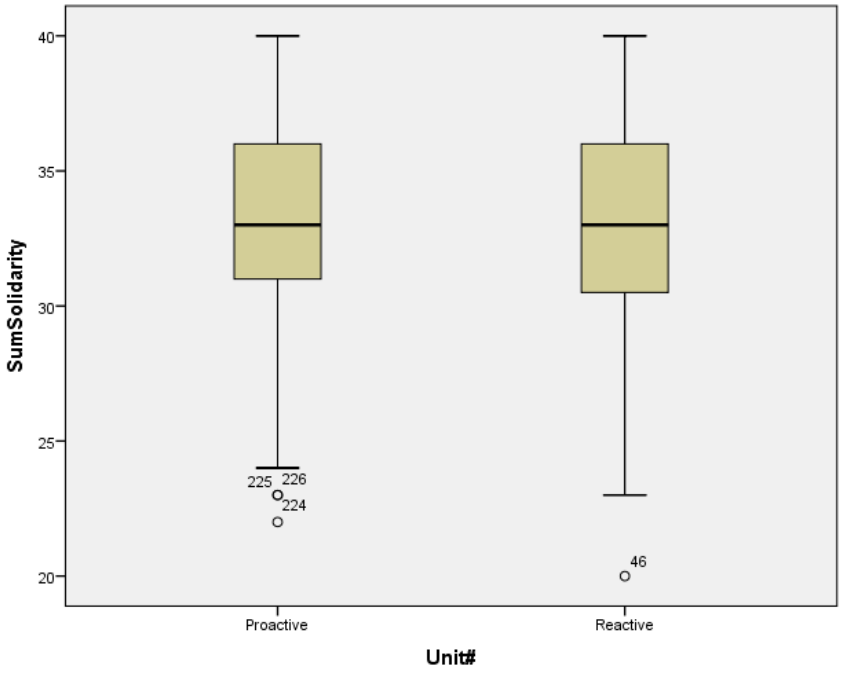
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	9.628[a]	1	9.628	.767	.381
Intercept	397458.023	1	397458.023	31674.008	.000
Unit	9.628	1	9.628	.767	.381
Error	6449.876	514	12.548		
Total	569440.000	516			
Corrected Total	6459.504	515			

a. R Squared = .001 (adjusted R squared = .000)

The degree to which the two groups exhibited similar attitudes can be seen in Table 31 and Table 33. These tables show that the broad distribution of scores was very similar between the two groups. The ANOVA test, as shown above, revealed no significant difference between the

distribution of scores of the proactive and reactive groups, i.e., (F=.767, df=1, p=.381). This can be visually represented in the boxplot diagram that is presented in Figure 2 below. This diagram clearly illustrates the similarity between the scores in the two groups.

Figure:2
Boxplot depicting the mean score and distribution comparison of reactive and proactive police officers' responses to the 30-item questionnaire (solidarity)



Breakdown of isolation across unit type

Table 32
Mean score and mean score percentage comparison of reactive and proactive police officers' responses to the 30- item questionnaire (isolation)

Unit Type	N	$(\bar{X})$	%	Min	%	Max	%	Range	%
Proactive	397	29,47	73,7%	12	30,0%	39	97,5%	27	67,5%
Reactive	119	29,36	73,4%	19	47,5%	37	92,5%	18	45,0%
Support	5	30,80	77,0%	27	67,5%	34	85,0%	7	17,5%
No Response	*12*	*28,58*	*71,5%*	*21*	*52,5%*	*34*	*85,0%*	*13*	*32,5%*
SumIsolation	**533**	**29,44**	**73,6%**	**12**	**30,0%**	**39**	**97,5%**	**27**	**67,5%**

Note. 'N' represents number of participants, '$(\bar{X})$'denotes mean score and '%' signifies percentage.

The SumIsolation variable (cumulative score for items 11-20 – isolation theme) again showed no significant difference between the distribution of scores for the reactive and proactive units. Again, both groups showed a mean value above the 60% cut-off point (R - $\bar{X} = 29.36$ / 73.7%, P - $\bar{X} = 29.47$ / 73.4%). Notably though, these scores were lower than the mean scores for the solidarity theme despite still showing a strong presence of police culture views in favour of isolation. This is reinforced by the maximum scores, which in this theme were not maxed out at the highest potential score. On the lower end there were a number of outliers in the proactive group whose scores fell below those of the majority, with the lowest showing a score of 12, which implies a rejection of the police culture theme of isolation among the minority. However, the vast majority of scores fell above the 60% (24/40) cut-off point (Table 32).

Table 33
Anova Analysis of SumIsolation on IV of Unit Assignment

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

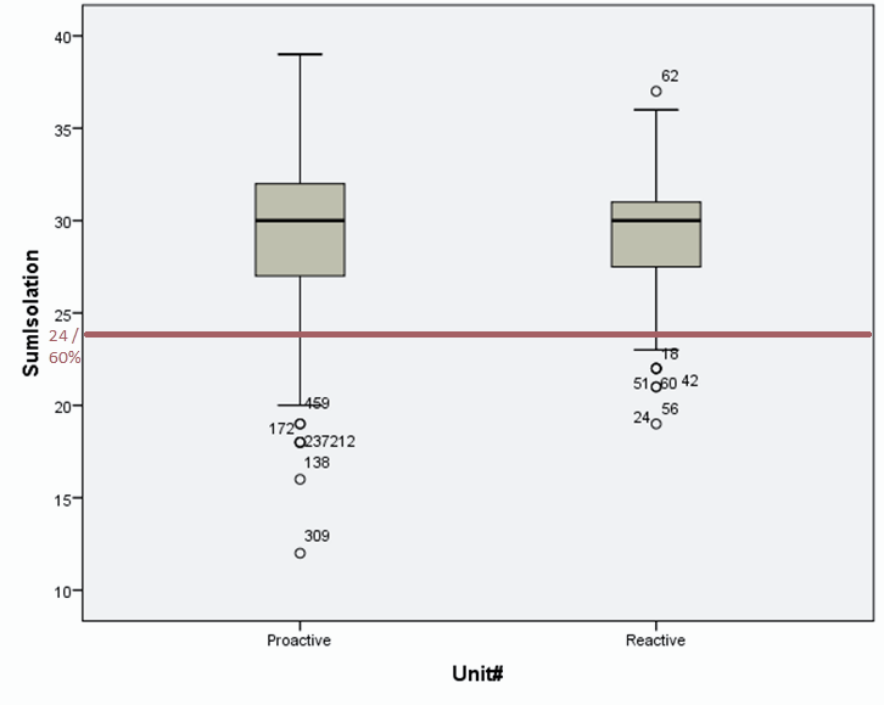
Dependent Variable: SumIsolation

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	1.003[a]	1	1.003	.068	.794
Intercept	316844.507	1	316844.507	21495.860	.000
Unit	1.003	1	1.003	.068	.794
Error	7576.253	514	14.740		
Total	454858.000	516			
Corrected Total	7577.256	515			

a. R Squared = .000 (Adjusted R Squared = -.002)

The figures above reveal that there was no significant difference between the distribution of the scores for the proactive and reactive groups (i.e., F=.068, df=1, p=.794). There was, however, more variation within the proactive group, as is depicted in the boxplot in Figure 3 below.

Figure: 3
Boxplot depicting the mean score and distribution comparisons between the reactive and proactive police officers' responses to the 30- item questionnaire (isolation)



Breakdown of cynicism across unit type

Table 34
Mean score and mean score percentage comparison between reactive and proactive police officers' responses to the 30- item questionnaire (cynicism)

Unit Type	N	$(\bar{X})$	%	Min	%	Max	%	Range	%
Proactive	397	27,20	68,0%	18	45,0%	35	87,5%	17	42,5%
Reactive	119	26,81	67,0%	20	50,0%	34	85,0%	14	35,0%
Support	5	29,40	73,5%	26	65,0%	31	77,5%	5	12,5%
No Response	*12*	*27,33*	*68,3%*	*21*	*52,5%*	*31*	*77,5%*	*10*	*25,0%*
SumCynicism	**533**	**27,14**	**67,8%**	**18**	**45,0%**	**35**	**87,5%**	**17**	**42,5%**

Note. 'N' represents number of participants, '$(\bar{X})$'denotes mean score and '%' signifies percentage.

As with the previous two themes, the cynicism measures showed no real difference between the distribution of scores between the proactive and reactive groups. Notably, the cynicism theme showed the lowest levels of adherence to this particular police culture theme (i.e., R -$\bar{X} = 26.81$

/ 67.0%, P - $\bar{X} = 27.2$ / 68.0%) among the three themes. Responses to this theme reflected higher minimum values (18/20) than to the isolation theme (12/19); however, the maximum values found in relation to the isolation theme were lower than for the other themes (35/34). Clearly, the vast majority of scores again fell above the 60% cut-off point.

Table 35
Anova Analysis of SumCynicism on IV of Unit Assignment

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: SumCynicism

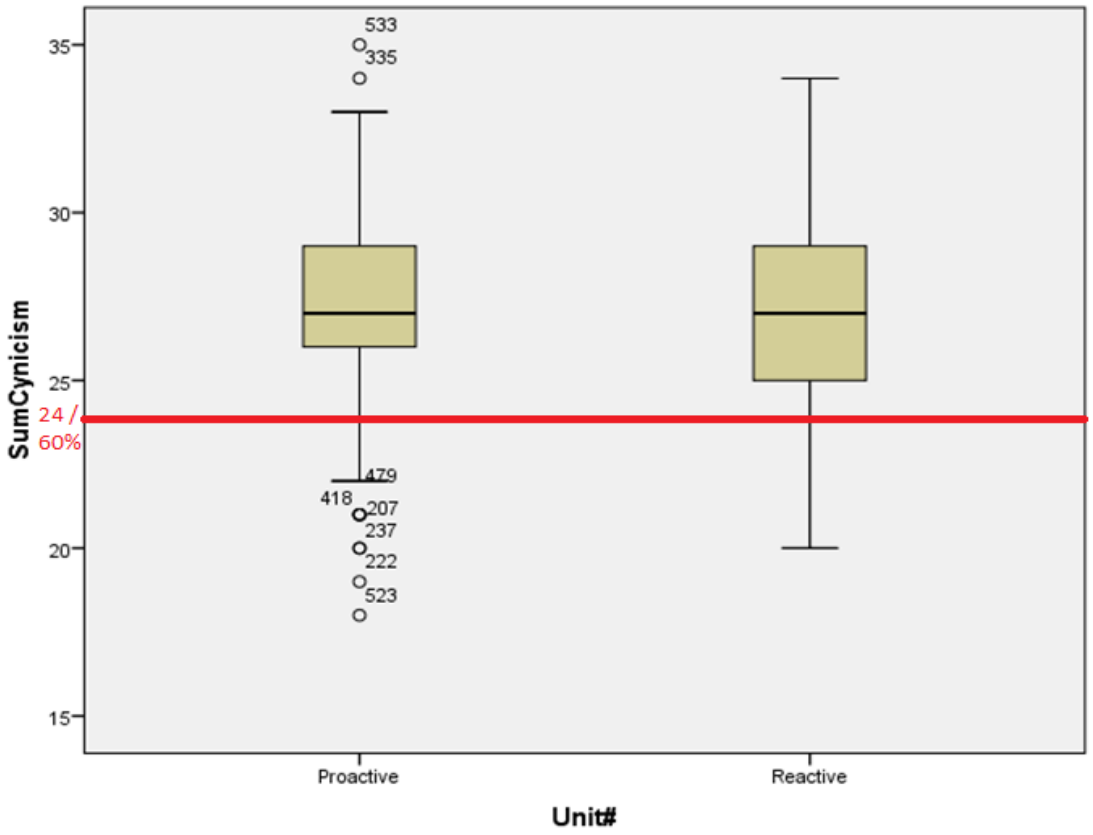
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	14.088[a]	1	14.088	1.937	.165
Intercept	267034.398	1	267034.398	36720.644	.000
Unit	14.088	1	14.088	1.937	.165
Error	3737.834	514	7.272		
Total	382946.000	516			
Corrected Total	3751.922	515			

a. R Squared = .004 (adjusted R Squared = .002)

As could be expected from the descriptive statistics, there was no significant difference between the distribution of the proactive and reactive scores (F=1.937, df=1, p=.165). However, there was more variation within the scores of the reactive group, which starkly contrasted with the findings for the isolation cumulative variable.

Figure:4

Boxplot of mean score and distribution comparisons between the reactive and proactive police officers' responses to the 30- item questionnaire (cynicism)



Breakdown across unit type

Table 36

Mean score and mean score percentage comparison between reactive and proactive police officers' responses to the 30- item questionnaire (solidarity, isolation and cynicism)

Unit Type	N	$(\bar{X})$	%	Min	%	Max	%	Range	%
Proactive	397	89,77	74,8%	64	53,3%	105	87,5%	41	34,2%
Reactive	119	88,95	74,1%	71	59,2%	105	87,5%	34	28,3%
Support	5	96,00	80,0%	91	75,8%	100	83,3%	9	7,5%
No Response	12	89,67	74,7%	77	64,2%	97	80,8%	20	16,7%
SumTotal	**533**	**89,64**	**74,7%**	**64**	**53,3%**	**105**	**87,5%**	**41**	**34,2%**

Note. 'N' represents number of participants, '$(\bar{X})$'denotes mean score and '%' signifies percentage.

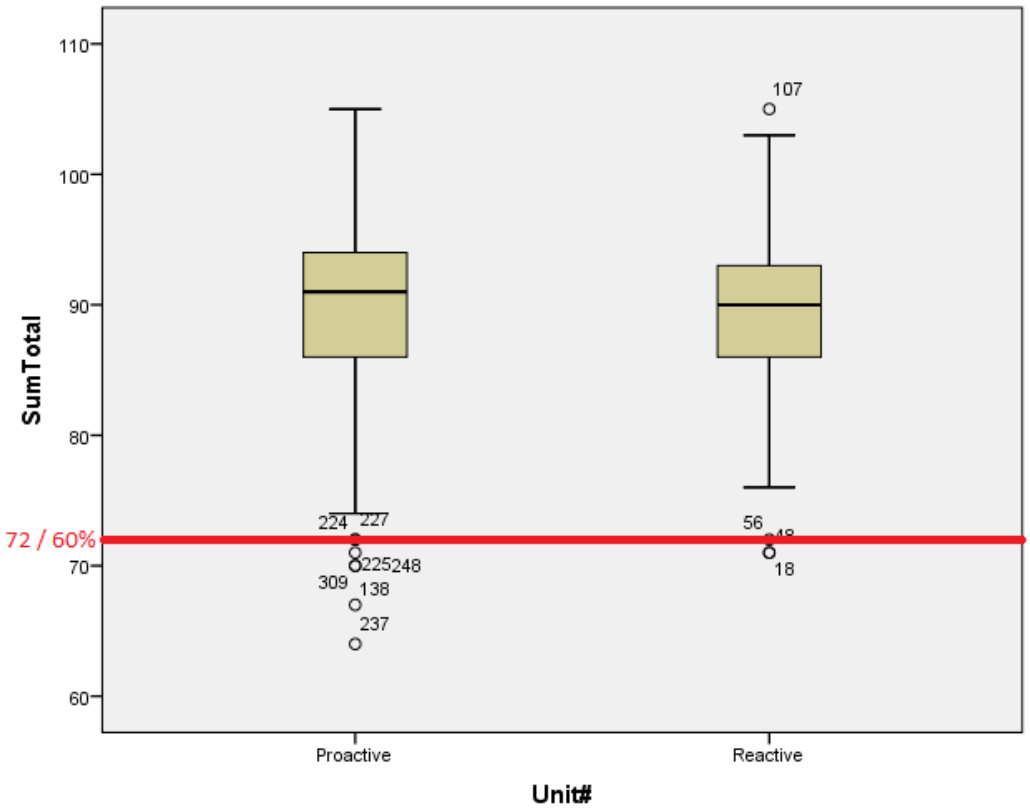
The variable SumTotal was calculated using the scores from all 30 questions, and reversing the scoring order for questions 22, 25 and 28. The results represented an overall picture of the levels

of measurement for the presence of the police culture themes among the participants. This value was calculated with a maximum potential value of 120 and a minimum potential value of 30. Thus the 60% cut-off point fell at a score of 72.

As can be seen in descriptive scores for this variable, there was a high adherence to the three police culture themes among both the reactive and proactive respondents (R - $\bar{X} = 88.95$ / 74.1%, P - $\bar{X} = 89.77$ / 74.8%). Notably, the minimum scores fell near to (reactive = 59.2%) or just below (proactive = 53.3%) the 60% cut-off point, showing that even the lowest scoring participants still held some ideas in support of the three police culture themes. However, as can be seen in figure 4, the minimum scores were clear outliers as the vast majority of the responses fell above the 60% cut-off point.

Figure:5

Boxplot mean score and distribution comparison of between proactive police officers' responses to the 30- item questionnaire measuring (solidarity, isolation and cynicism)



There was very little difference in the overall distribution of scores for both the reactive and proactive groups. This is statistically shown in Table 37, which reflects that the ANOVA test values show no significant difference (F=1.404, df=1, p=.237).

Table 37
Anova analysis of SumTotal on IV of unit assignment

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: SumTotal

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	61.743[a]	1	61.743	1.404	.237
Intercept	2924393.642	1	2924393.642	66522.795	.000
Unit	61.743	1	61.743	1.404	.237
Error	22595.839	514	43.961		
Total	4163468.000	516			
Corrected Total	22657.581	515			

a. R Squared = .003 (Adjusted R Squared = .001)

7.11.2 Conclusion: theme variables

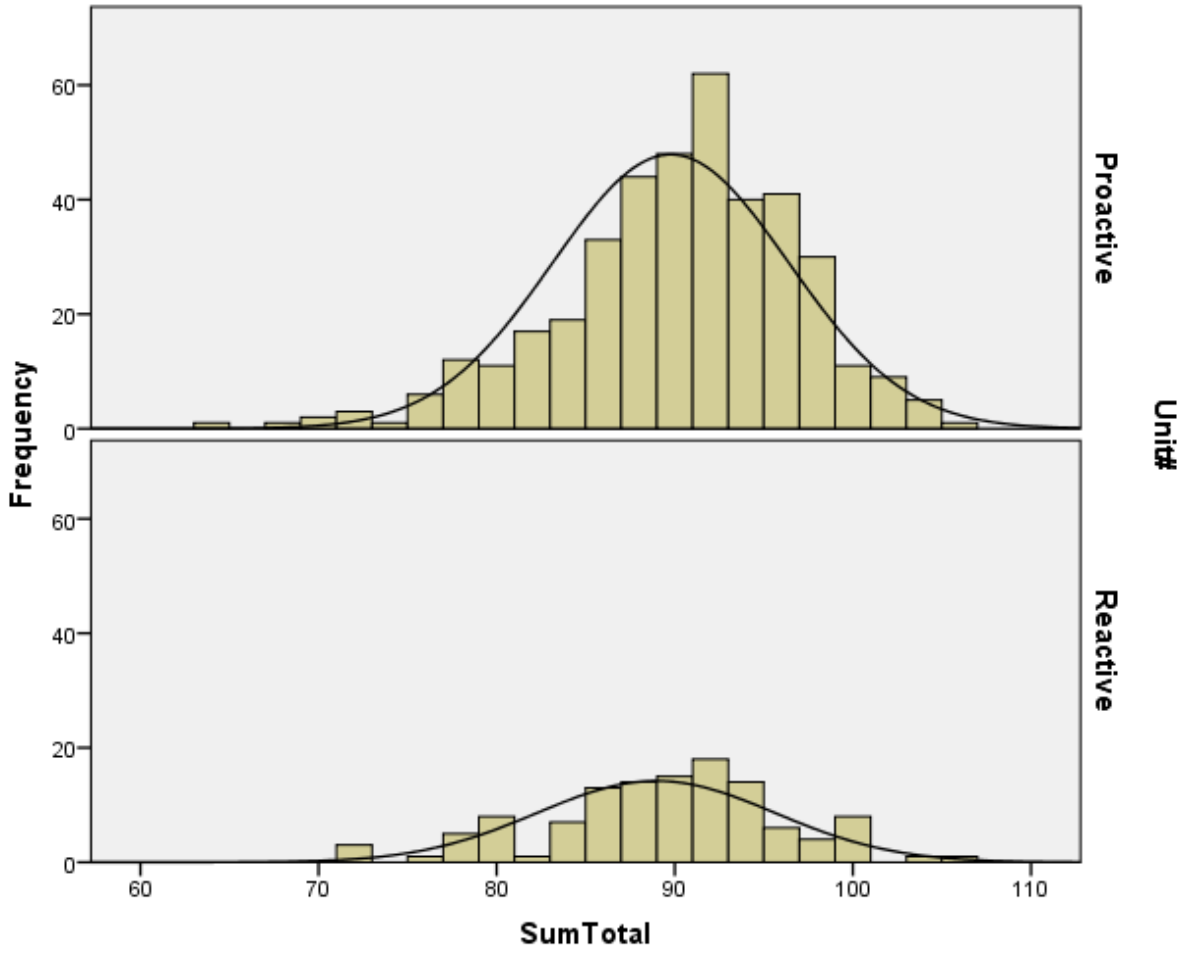
Table 31 (SumSolidarity), Table 33 (SumIsolation), Table 35 (SumCynicism), and Table 37 (SumTotal), show the mean scores and mean score percentages of the participants' responses pertaining to each police culture theme. These scores were backed up by ANOVA tests to show any significant differences among the three groups. In general, the results as presented in the above tables indicated the presence of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst the representative sample of reactive and proactive SAPS.

The SumTotal variable, which showed a combined value of all three police culture themes, revealed that the proactive police officers had a mean score of $\bar{X} = 89.77$ while the reactive cohort had a mean score of $\bar{X} = 88.95$.

The final histogram (Figure 6) shows the breakdown of the two groups on the SumTotal variable. This histogram neatly summarises the data presented above, showing that while there was a difference between the number of officers representing each group, overall there was very little difference in their response patterns, and thus the way in which they understood police culture

was very similar. The nature of these differences (or the lack thereof) will be explored in the following chapter.

Figure: 6
Histogram showing the distribution of SumTotal results between the proactive and reactive group



7.11 Police Culture Levels: Comparing the Views between the Proactive and Reactive Units

7.11.1 Attitudinal differences between reactive and proactive officers

Table 38

Differences in attitude between reactive and proactive SAPS officers.

Question Number	Chi Squared X^2	df	p	M-W Z	M-W p	Mean Rank - Proactive	Mean Rank - Reactive	% Proactive to Reactive
Q1	6.34	4	0.175	-0.919	0.358	260.44	247.64	105.17%
Q2	1.00	3	0.801	-0.235	0.815	258.73	255.56	101.24%
Q3	4.36	4	0.359	-1.551	0.121	263.37	242.24	108.72%
Q4	2.42	3	0.490	-0.056	0.955	258.68	257.90	100.30%
Q5	2.05	2	0.358	-0.200	0.841	258.62	255.91	101.06%
Q6	1.40	3	0.705	-0.171	0.865	259.01	256.79	100.87%
Q7	1.11	4	0.893	-0.091	0.928	258.80	257.51	100.50%
Q8	5.74	4	0.219	-1.037	0.300	261.40	246.70	105.96%
Q9	1.89	3	0.596	-0.877	0.381	255.61	268.16	95.32%
Q10	1.74	2	0.420	-0.508	0.611	259.87	253.93	102.34%
Q11	2.54	4	0.637	-0.093	0.926	258.21	259.46	99.52%
Q12	2.59	4	0.628	-0.708	0.479	260.29	250.38	103.96%
Q13	0.92	3	0.820	-0.722	0.470	254.31	263.83	96.39%
Q14	6.71	4	0.152	-0.060	0.952	258.29	259.18	99.66%
Q15	4.35	4	0.361	-1.384	0.166	253.72	274.45	92.44%
Q16	2.15	4	0.707	-1.128	0.259	261.68	245.74	106.49%
Q17	5.13	4	0.275	-0.141	0.888	258.09	259.86	99.32%
Q18	1.76	3	0.625	-1.082	0.279	261.79	247.52	105.77%
Q19	1.44	3	0.696	-0.185	0.853	257.95	260.33	99.09%
Q20	10.19	4	0.037	-2.496	0.013	266.45	231.97	114.86%
Q21	2.64	4	0.619	-1.045	0.296	255.25	269.36	94.76%
Q22	0.84	3	0.840	-0.017	0.987	258.46	258.63	99.93%
Q23	8.27	4	0.082	-0.651	0.515	259.86	251.79	103.21%
Q24	4.59	4	0.333	-1.750	0.080	264.25	239.33	110.41%
-Q25	3.32	3	0.345	-1.307	0.191	254.33	272.41	93.36%
Q26	3.40	3	0.333	-0.070	0.944	258.72	257.75	100.38%
Q27	3.87	4	0.424	-1.731	0.084	264.21	239.46	110.33%
Q28	2.54	3	0.468	-0.355	0.723	259.05	254.51	101.78%
Q29	2.46	4	0.651	-1.276	0.202	262.19	244.06	107.43%
Q30	4.06	4	0.397	-0.002	0.998	256.51	256.48	100.01%

% denotes percentage.

The differences in views could possibly be linked to a perception among reactive members (detectives) that they are superior to proactive members. This may be due to the fact that proactive members frequently have to implement policies and strategies that generals formulate without understanding the problems proactive officers experience during the execution of their tasks. This comment is derived from the significant differences between reactive and proactive officers' responses to item 20 which states: *Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level*. Table 38, indicates a significant value of p= 0.013 when tested using the Mann-Whitney test (which, in this case, searched for a difference in degree) along with a significance level of p=0.005 when using the Chi-Squared test (difference of type). The difference in kind can be attributed to the 47.9% of the reactive officers choosing the *Strongly agree* option which resulted in a mean rank of 231.97, in comparison with the 61.7% of proactive officers who indicated *Strongly agree* with a mean rank of 266.45. Below are cross tabulation results vis-à-vis statements that would indicate a significant difference between the views of reactive and proactive officers.

Table: 39 Mean Difference and Significance

Comparison of police culture theme attitudes to solidarity, isolation and cynicism across the nine provinces

	Eastern Cape		Free State		Gauteng		KZN		Mpumalanga		North West		Northern Cape		Northern Province		Western Cape	
Province	Mean diff	Sig	Mean diff	Sig	Mean diff	Sig	Mean diff	Sig	Mean diff	Sig	Mean diff	Sig	Mean diff	Sig	Mean diff	Sig	Mean diff	Sig
Eastern Cape			-2.50	0.065	**4.19***	**0.000**	0.87	0.383	2.36	0.059	0.18	0.898	1.41	0.202	**3.42***	**0.008**	**3.94***	**0.000**
Free State	2.50	0.065			**6.69***	**0.000**	**3.37***	**0.009**	**4.86***	**0.001**	2.68	0.101	**3.91***	**0.004**	**5.92***	**0.000**	**6.44***	**0.000**
Gauteng	**-4.19***	**0.000**	**-6.69***	**0.000**			**-3.32***	**0.001**	-1.83	0.150	**-4.01***	**0.006**	**-2.78***	**0.015**	-0.77	0.559	-0.25	0.822
KZN	-0.87	0.383	**-3.37***	**0.009**	**3.32***	**0.001**			1.49	0.202	-0.69	0.611	0.54	0.594	**2.55***	**0.037**	**3.07***	**0.002**
Mpumalanga	-2.36	0.059	**-4.86***	**0.001**	1.83	0.150	-1.49	0.202			-2.17	0.159	-0.95	0.451	1.06	0.457	1.58	0.201
North West	-0.18	0.898	-2.68	0.101	**4.01***	**0.006**	0.69	0.611	2.17	0.159			1.22	0.392	**3.24***	**0.041**	**3.76***	**0.008**
Northern Cape	-1.41	0.202	**-3.91***	**0.004**	**2.78***	**0.015**	-0.54	0.594	0.95	0.451	-1.22	0.392			2.01	0.124	**2.53***	**0.021**
Northern Province	**-3.42***	**0.008**	**-5.92***	**0.000**	0.77	0.559	**-2.55***	**0.037**	-1.06	0.457	-3.24*	0.041	-2.01	0.124			0.52	0.685
Western Cape	**-3.94***	**0.000**	**-6.44***	**0.000**	0.25	0.822	**-3.07***	**0.002**	-1.58	0.201	**-3.76***	**0.008**	**-2.53***	**0.021**	-0.52	0.685		

Table 39 indicates the mean differences and significance among the nine provinces. These results are highlighted in blue. The significant differences could be attributed to geographical factors, variations in training centers, provincial government regulations, and other individual factors.

Table 40

Average of SumSolidarity, SumIsolation and SumCynicism

Row Labels	Average of SumSolidarity	Average of SumIsolation	Average of SumCynicism	Average of SumTotal
Eastern Cape	33,87	30,51	26,93	91,31
Free State	34,30	30,12	29,36	93,79
Gauteng	32,20	28,58	26,51	87,29
KZN	33,56	30,04	26,72	90,32
Mpumalanga	32,67	29,72	26,53	88,93
North West	34,13	29,97	27,30	91,40
Northern Cape	33,31	29,87	26,64	89,82
Northern Province	31,63	29,10	27,43	88,15
Western Cape	32,20	27,41	28,03	87,63
Grand Total	**33,07**	**29,44**	**27,14**	**89,64**

-

The above table indicates the similarity of the views identified among the provinces with variations of 1-4 degrees. The similarity amongst the views of proactive and reactive police officers in all nine the provinces was evident, as reflected in these results.

7.12 Conclusion

This marks the end of the analysis of the data reflecting the views of proactive and reactive SAPS participants in terms of their attitudes to the contemporary police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. The data were obtained from a representative sample of proactive and reactive SAPS officers across the nine provinces in South Africa who responded to a 30-item questionnaire. In the next chapter of this dissertation, the findings of the study will be discussed and recommendations will be made.

CHAPTER EIGHT

"It's only when the mind is free from the old that it meets everything anew, and in that there is joy."
-Jiddu Krishnamurthi-

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The fundamental objective of the current study was to establish whether transformations had occurred in a representative sample of reactive and proactive officials in the SAPS and whether they possessed attitudes in favour of traditional police culture themes, with specific reference to solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

8.2 Addressing the Research Question and Hypotheses

When this study commenced, the researcher was eager to explore the various aspects of police culture. The study specifically asked: *Are there signs demonstrating attitudes in support of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a sample of SAPS police officers with 10 years' experience*? A further question was probed, which was: *Does a sample of proactive officers in the SAPS with 10 years' experience have different attitudes to the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism compared to a sample of reactive officers in the SAPS with ten years' experience?*

In the context of these questions, the study hypothesized that:

(1) The police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism would be present among both SAPS reactive officers and proactive officers with 10 years' experience.
(2) Proactive officers in the SAPS with 10 years' experience would have different attitudes to the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism compared to a sample of reactive officers in the SAPS with 10 years' experience.

It is important to note that the researcher acknowledges that there is a myriad of other variables that could have been used to measure the presence of the contemporary police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. However, the limited number of variables explored by this study should not be considered as a limitation as the measures used in any study are approximations of true constructs. The current study did not attempt to draw correlations between attitude and behaviour, nor did it draw conclusions on the attitudes and behaviour of all SAPS police officers in all stations across the country.

The first three phases of the former longitudinal study (of which this study was an independent continuation) was phase 1: January 2005; phase 2: June 2005; phase 3: December 2005; and phase 4: July 2013. This study had been conducted by the principle researcher (Steyn, 2006). The analyses in the initial study commenced with an investigation to determine if the traditional police culture themes of isolation, solidarity and cynicism were characteristics of police officials within the South African Police Service (SAPS) over a 10-year period. The results of the former study were related to Van Maanen's (1975) and Manning's (1989) perspectives of police culture. It was found that proactive and reactive police officials stationed within the Republic of South Africa had attitudes that were

compelling in support of the- orthodox police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. The notion that police officials had attitudes, beliefs and characteristics prior to exposure in the SAPS training facility corroborated the findings of Manning (1989).

8.3 Study Findings and Implications

Based on the data analysis, Hypothesis 1 was accepted, because the results revealed the presence of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism in the attitudes of SAPS reactive and proactive officers with 10 years' experience. However, Hypothesis 2 was rejected as the study found a high similarity in the attitudes of reactive and proactive officers with 10 years' experience in the SAPS, indicating their support of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism. Despite the distinctive occupational responsibilities and duties of proactive and reactive officers, they maintained similar views in their statements to the 30-item questionnaire. The similarity between the two groups was astonishing considering the varied nature of their roles in the police profession.

The findings of the study illuminated a clearer understanding of the police culture phenomenon. Evidently, current officers in the SAPS can be referred to as 'traditionalists' who embody the classic descriptions of police culture, as the findings suggested a high level of consensus among reactive and proactive officers in favour of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. Based on the current research findings, it may be suggested that SAPS officers' occupational attitudes appear to be representative of a single culture rather than of a fragmented group of cultures or sub-cultures within the organisation.

It is important to note that officers in the police occupation currently seem to resemble the typology of ethnographers of decades ago as the results portray a single, dominant culture that encompasses a large body of police officers who have become acculturated within the system. Therefore, police culture is prevalent as the differences that were noted depicted no real statistical deviations.

To simply comprehend that the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism are used by police offers as mere coping strategies to safeguard themselves against potential physical and psychological danger is questionable. It may therefore seem that the study uncovered more probable questions rather than answers, for example: *Does the wider South African police culture encompass the same attitudes? Are attitudes of solidarity, cynicism and isolation also evident in other state organisations?* A cause for concern that was highlighted by the study was the high level of these police culture themes among police officers.

However, the mere presence of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism among police officers, although relatively limited, calls into question the contemporary fashionable view (Fielding, 1989; Hobbs, 1991; Chan, 1997; Marks, 2005; O'Neil and Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2007; Cockcroft, 2013) that new developments in policing have dramatically changed police culture and that the conventional, universal homogeneity of police culture is unhelpful and outdated and no longer makes any sense. In the present-day scholarly atmosphere where classifying assortments and modernisms in policing culture seems to take preference, it is clearly the persisting aspects that necessitate our concentration.

This is not just a question of notional inclination; there are firm empirical foundations for keeping, and continuing to contemplate, the conventional conception of police culture. The general finding also gives credence to the police culture socialisation theory and, in particular, to Van Maanen's (1975) and Manning's (1989) ethnographic depictions of a *metamorphosis* stage of police culture socialisation.

The responses to all the items in the questionnaire established commonalities between the proactive and reactive participant groups. It may be argued that high crime rates and factors such as poverty and unemployment that need to be combated give rise to negative perceptions, attitudes and behaviour among police officials (Nofziger & Williams, 2005). Moreover, high levels of isolation among police officials may primarily be attributed to the fact that they are unfamiliar to the community that they serve. The results further imply that proactive and reactive officials hold similar attitudes towards policing, as the respondents elicited moderate to strong attitudes in support of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

A certain similarity in attitude was evident among the officers considering that they were all trained and acquired skills and knowledge at similar training facilities where entrenched attitudes were instilled in them. Consequently, because the police organisation had embedded attitudes in them that were in favour of solidarity, isolation and cynicism, these police officers had for 10 years been further exposed to these values and approaches towards policing. For this reason, the police officers had been moulded towards organisational compliance.

One important implication of the study is that the traditional police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism are used as a coping mechanism in dealing with perceived and real danger, whether it is physical or psychological. The study therefore prompts further probing into this field, with particular reference to the reasons for the enhancement of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism with extended service in the police profession.

8.4 Relevance of the Conventional Understanding of Police Culture: Addressing the Research Questions and Hypotheses of the Study

Although limited to external validity, the current study adds to the knowledge of police culture and reinforces/fortifies the concept and mainstream beliefs of a homogenous police culture despite the rank or type of official employed by the police organisation. The findings depict a monolithic, homogenous organisation and go further by contradicting contemporary ethnographers (Paoline 2004; Sklansky, 2005; Cockcroft, 2012; O'Neill et al., 2007; Chan, 2003; Chan, 1996; Harr, 1997; Herbert, 1998; Manning, 1994a, 1994b; Paoline, Myers & Worden, 2000) who posited the argument that conventional classifications of police culture are useless, antiqued, illogical and hold no relevance in comparison to new developments being made in police culture.

8.4.1 Merton (1957): anticipatory socialisation

Studies have found that the majority of police recruits are in support of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. It is essential to understand that recruit perceptions are in place even prior to their training at SAPS training facilities and that they therefore possess and imbibe attitudes that are supported and enhanced by their officers who

are already employed at the training centres. This argument provides support for the pre-dispositional school of thought that links officer demeanour to the attitudes, values and behaviour that recruits uphold subsequent to their academy enrolment. Therefore, proactive and reactive police officers possess attitudes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism that have become more deeply entrenched as their careers progressed. This argument was evidenced by the respondents' attitudes at 10 years' functional service in the SAPS. Although the responding officers had different responsibilities and duties in the various occupational roles they fulfilled, the findings suggest that they were united by the same concepts, ideas and attitudes towards their profession, families, friends, and the community.

8.4.2 Van Maanen (1973): socialisation

Organisational socialisation appears throughout various career stages (Van Maanen, 1973). In the SAPS this process completely integrates the beliefs, values and attitudes of officers as recruits first adopt the characteristics, values and attitudes an organisation encompasses, and then they adapt to and entrench the behaviour of officers that have already been socialised. A long selection process ensures that individuals who have strong attitudes in favour of the police organisation are conforming to the attitudes accepted within the establishment. This allows the transferral of traditions from one generation to the next. As noted by Chan (2001), "at the *metamorphosis* stage a police officer fully understands and recognises the organisation and is therefore integrated into police culture." During the *metamorphosis* stage, reactive and proactive officials thus begin to mirror the attitudes and behaviour of longstanding officers.

The current study contradicts Nierderhoffer (1969) argument that modern policing depicts "the cultural strains of the working to middle class police officer, and [that] it is accurate to comprehend that police officers of today have a more diverse group with regard to characterisations, values and ideals." The current study also contradicts the prospect of a subculture within a broader police culture, as the probability of reactive officers having different attitudes and characteristics in comparison to proactive officers was put into question by the findings.

The findings of the current study will therefore initiate further discourse and debate on new developments in police and policing in South Africa. For example, it was found that strategy, legislature and police policy have not aided in the neutralisation of the traditional police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism, which requires urgent scholarly attention. The findings therefore counteract contemporary ethnographers such as Cockcroft (2012) who argue that conventional characteristics of police culture are archaic and obsolete due to new developments in the police culture. Mastroski (2004) reiterates that police culture should be treated as a constant rather than a variable.

The study, although limited in scope, contributes new knowledge with regard to a comparison between the views and attitudes of reactive and proactive police officials in South Africa, considering that comparative studies on the attitudes of reactive and proactive officials have not been conducted among such a wide sample and over such a large geographical area as this study has done. Paoline III (2004) argument that two decades of monolithic police culture may have led to a fragmented occupational group is therefore debunked. Paoline III (2004) would categorise the participants of the current study as 'tough-

cops' and define them as police officers who "epitomize many of the values depicted in monolithic characterizations of police culture…these individuals are cynical, believing that citizens are hostile towards the police and supervisors are unsupportive…" thereby describing a category of police officers.

In the next section the effects of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism in reactive and proactive police officials will be discussed.

8.5 An Analysis of the Comparison between Reactive and Proactive Police Officials' Responses

The study highlighted that SAPS functional police officers with 10 years' experience believed that their vocation was highly dangerous, and thus they felt that policing should be one of the highest paid occupations. This sentiment was shared by 60.3% of the officers.

The study also revealed that a total of 278 individuals (53.9%) preferred being in the company of fellow colleagues as opposed to being with their families, friends, relatives and the community. They further indicated that they related better to their colleagues than to 'outsiders'. One finding that pointed to possible dissatisfaction in the workplace was that the officers indicated that top level management did not comprehend (and therefore did not sympathise with) the functions and operations of police officers at grassroots level. Another finding that may indicate stress in the workplace was that officers perceived citizens to be generally untrustworthy and dishonest when they were interviewed by the police. These findings appeared to be similar to those of a longitudinal study conducted by Steyn (2015) among a sample of police officers from 2005 - 2015. The findings were also comparable to

those of Van Maanen (1975) and Manning (1989). Steyn's (2015) sentiments advocated that the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism were infused in particular during training. The results of the latter study were a reflection of the stages of acculturation (*choice, admittance, encounter and metamorphosis*) as proposed by Van Maanen (1975) and Manning (1989), with the strengthening of these attitudes during additional years of operational police experience. The finding of the current study that the attitudes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism existed almost similarly among proactive and reactive police officers ten (10) years post-appointment may therefore be an indication of the strengthening of the acculturation process.

To be able to answer the research questions, it was necessary to determine how isolated or cynical, as a general proposition, police officers had to be in order to conclude that the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism were sufficiently evident in their behaviour and attitude. The decision was somewhat capricious, but it was clear that the traits had to be present to an ample extent to substantiate a compelling assertion. For this reason, the researcher selected an inclusive mean score of no less than 60% per individual participant on a particular police culture theme (for example, theme 1: Solidarity [items 1-10]), with the higher score demonstrating the greater presence of a particular police culture theme to further the supposition that a specific police culture theme (solidarity, isolation or cynicism) was characteristic of the study sample.

Overall, the presence of strong to moderate attitudes was indicative of the conventional police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism among the sample of 520

functional SAPS police officers with ten years' SAPS experience. Most of the participants either *Agreed* or *Strongly agreed* with the solidarity items (1-10); *Agreed* or *Strongly agreed* with the isolation items (11-20); and *Agreed* or *Strongly agreed* with the cynicism scale (items 21-30). Items 22, 25 and 28 were reverse scored due to the direction of the statements. Caution was taken not to extract deductions from the study sample and to generalise them to all SAPS functional police officers, and certainly not the SAPS as a whole. The study was conducted on two different SAPS posting or functionality groups, namely the visible policing component (uniformed officers) and the less visible (plain clothes) detective service component. For this reason, the findings cannot be generalised to other SAPS officers posted in different regions and units who were not represented in this study.

In terms of the hypotheses, the data depicted no difference in the attitudes of reactive participants and proactive respondents. Both groups of participants' met the 60% cut-off mean score requirement to indicate that police officers had attitudes in support of the articulated items. The results were indicative of these cultures because they ranged significantly above the 60% mark. The mean scores reflected a similarity in degree rather than a difference in kind. With regard to the effect size statistics, all 30 items in the questionnaire reflected no more than 0,45 - 0,49 in effect size. However, item 22 *(Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble)* indicated a significance= 0.500. It must be acknowledged that a reason for this may relate to a flaw in the linguistic interpretation of the negative element in the question that required a positive response, and this may have particularly impacted respondents whose home language was not English.

With reference to hypothesis 1, the data reflected recurrent similarities between reactive and proactive officers. In this context, statistical similarities between the attitudes of patrol officers and detectives appeared, with minor percentage differences on a majority of items. For example, the data relating to item 20 indicated that proactive officers statistically *Agreed* with the statement: *Commissioners do not really know what is happening at grass roots level*, thereby asserting that senior management police officers were deemed to be out of touch with reality in terms of the daily struggles experienced at subordinate levels. Interestingly, this attitude was attributed to proactive officers who function at lower levels and who are therefore more likely to experience the supercilious attitudes of their superiors on a daily basis, whilst reactive officers *Agreed* pertaining to the scale of isolation, which established a considerable similarity amongst proactive and reactive officers.

It is important to note that limited literature that is relevant to the phenomenon under study was available from which the researcher could draw to explain the differential characteristics of proactive and reactive officers. In general, the majority of the participants of both groups either *Agreed* or *Strongly agreed* with the cynicism items (21-30). On a categorical level, the proactive members leaned towards stronger attitudes in support of cynicism as a police culture in comparison to the reactive participants. These items thematically posit the distrust of the public in police officers and the system and, similarly, the disrespect the police have for the public whom they police.

It was a strenuous task to measure individual items in the attempt to determine significant distinctions in degree and kind between the two respondent groups. Many respondents felt a greater kinship with their colleagues who shared their feelings and experiences while they felt that outsiders were unable to grasp the reality of the challenges they experienced as

police officers. Reactive officers in general have stable occupational hours which allows opportunities for social interaction. Items 15 and 20 elicited responses on difference of kind (*My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about*). Responses to this statement varied. One reason for this may be that officers often marry or are in relationships with fellow officers, which allows partners to understand the obligations and challenges of the occupation. However, partners who are non-members may struggle to comprehend what the duties and challenges of the profession entail. The responses to this statement may therefore have fluctuated in accordance with the officers' partners' ability (or inability) to withstand and tolerate the burdens of the occupation.

With regards to the cynicism scale (items 21-30), numerous officers agreed with the statements. Item 24 (*Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught*) was supported by the majority of the officers, thereby insinuating the possibility of fraud at crime scenes, particularly where money and drugs may be involved. Also, most proactive members agreed with item 23 (*Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest*), which implies that they had a strong distrust in the community. These responses were linked with the responses in support of item 27 (*Police officers will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively*), which emphasises the inability – or unwillingness - of police officers to trust the public.

The close proximity of these items implied that both reactive and proactive members were similar in their attitude of cynicism. Items 29 and 30 referred to community relations. Item 29 stated: *Members of the community will not trust the police officers enough to work*

together effectively. The lack of trust among reactive and proactive officers demonstrated in the community may be attributed to their comprehension that citizens or 'outsiders' are responsible for the psychological and physical harm endured by police officers (Steyn & De Vries, 2007). In many instances, some community members provoke police during protests and then expect the police not to retaliate. Also, officers are often held accountable for incidents or assault charges by members of the public. Such behaviour contributes towards the lack of trust in the police by the community and the negative perceptions the police have of the community.

8.6 Attitudinal analysis

8.6.1 Reactive versus proactive attitudinal analysis

The focus on attitudes and behaviour encompassing solidarity, isolation and cynicism among the participants looked at the response rates to the individual items measuring solidarity, isolation and cynicism. It was of great interest to the study whether similarities could be traced in the attitudes of reactive and proactive officers. The reason for assessing and comparing the attitudinal differences between the two groups was due to the perceived differences in their socialisation and work experiences, because occupational perspectives and policing styles vary according to the influences police officers are exposed to (Sun & Chu, 2009). Given their occupational task differences, it was envisaged that the attitudes and approaches would be different between the two groups (Westley, 1970; Worden, 1995). For example, reactive policing can be viewed as an isolated form of police enforcement in

comparison to proactive policing. Proactive officers patrol or wait for a crime to transpire, whereas reactive officers do not perform unless a crime has already taken place.

It was therefore expected that differences in attitudes pertaining to solidarity, isolation and cynicism would be evident among the officers of the two study groups due to changes in demographics, but the results revealed that, despite various ranks and structures within the police organisation, all the officers viewed the world from a similar perspective. Economic factors may also be taken into consideration when referring to the views and perceptions of reactive versus proactive officers, because in many circumstances a lack of financial remuneration can lead to attitudes of cynicism. In this context, the proactive officers deemed that they were not paid enough for risking their lives in dangerous occupational situations, as the majority stated that their profession should be one of the highest paid careers (item 1). According to the SAPS annual performance report (2015/2016), officers are remunerated according to different salary bands and reactive officers tend to be paid higher salaries according to bands A and B (Crank, 1997; Crank & Caldero, 1970). Moreover, the proactive officers perceived that they had less of a social life in comparison to the detective members in the police due to the shift work and irregular working hours. Observations have depicted that behaviour, values and attitudes are transferred from one generation to another with the assistance of the socialisation process (Van Maanen, 1978).

Based on the data analyses, both proactive and reactive police officer groups epitomised values depicted in traditional police culture attitudes and both were characterised as having traditional or classical elements of police culture. This finding was contrary to expectations. The study revealed moderate to high levels of similarity among reactive and proactive

officers within the Republic of South Africa. It may be argued that their occupation forces individuals to have a standardised outlook as a result of maintaining unbiased judgments. Furthermore, officers are trained to conform to the rules and regulations of the South African Police Service (SAPS) and hence they adopt attitudes and behaviour that safeguard their development within the organisation.

The need to conform due to peer pressure from comrades disables prior attitudes outside the police context, thereby socialising individuals to maintain an ideology and attitudes that are contained within the organisation. It is a known fact that the SAPS recruitment committee does not select individuals that do not hold attitudes and behaviour that are inconsistent with SAPS requirements.

8.6.2 Reactive and proactive attitudes towards the community

The findings of the current study indicated, in general, that the SAPS training experience of most recruits strengthened and maintained the values, attitudes and characteristics of both proactive (uniform) and reactive (detectives) police officers in support of the attitudes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. It further seemed that, as time passed, the attitudes became stronger and more prominent in circadian operations and activities. The findings of the study further suggested a strong presence of police culture attitudes among both reactive and proactive officers and an extremely high similarity in attitudes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism in both groups. The results further indicated that attitudes in favour of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism that were present before and during academy training might have been heightened throughout the police official's career during in-service experiences.

The outcome of the study thus indicates that police officials are unable to establish a relationship with the community. It can be affirmed that police officials feel threatened by the public whom they refer to as 'outsiders'. Moreover, officials seem to be sceptical of the possibility of establishing cooperative relationships between themselves and the community. It is further disputed that the SAPS culture supports the prospect of embracing policing styles that are acceptable desirable within the organisation. The similarity that exists among all officers seems to originate from the fact that they were all trained and acquired their skills and knowledge from similar training facilities. In this manner they imbibe similar attitudes that are apparent and contained by the organization. Consequently, if the organisation exudes attitudes in favour of solidarity, isolation and cynicism, police officials are exposed to this set of values and approaches towards policing. For this reason, police officials are moulded towards organisational compliance.

The negative attitudes that the police hold towards citizens (Reuss-Ianni, 1993; Rubinstein, 1973; Skolnick, 1994, Westley, 1970) are mirrored by the similarly negative of the police held by citizens. Typically, the community distrusts government organisations and this sense of doubt enhances the notion that police attitudes contribute towards an ineffective method of policing. Crank (1990) suspects that a traditional approach to policing will be an effective method in lowering crime rates, whilst community policing will be ineffective. This is exacerbated by the fact that the public maintains that police officials are responsible for the increase in crime and assumes that they are not working in a prompt and effective manner to decrease crime. The study's finding that both proactive and reactive officials hold similar attitudes may therefore be a result of the fact that the two groups police the same set of

individuals whom they refer to as ‘outsiders’, as well as the fact that both groups of police officers are answerable to a superior level of management. An important conclusion was therefore that police culture among reactive and proactive officers could be described as homogenous. In essence, police officers of both groups were found to be suspicious of citizens and comprehended that citizens would not assist them in performing their duties, nor in applying varying policing styles. These findings corroborate the findings by Sparrow et al., (1990) and Muirs (1997) respectively.

8.7 Recommendations

A comprehensive study should be conducted on the organisational culture of the SAPS. Such a study should explore the organisation’s adopted style of policing; hence new strategies should be implemented and re-evaluated over periods of time to ensure that any strategy is effective.

It is crucial that the SAPS training curriculum includes knowledge and coping strategies for police culture as well as organisational and occupational environments. The SAPS should re-evaluate the criteria for selection. Recruits should be profiled accordingly to ensure that negative attitudes and decorum are not maintained or strengthened during the SAPS training programme. SAPS training and service should place emphasis on problem solving, culture, politics and the community, thus ensuring that individuals can effortlessly manage problems that surface. Training and development are fundamental in assisting SAPS officials in dealing with coping techniques to avoid or prevent physical and psychological harm.

Attitudes in support of community interrelations are necessary at top-level management and should filter down to lower echelons.

It is crucial that the SAPS training curriculum includes knowledge of and coping strategies for police culture within its organisational and occupational environments. The SAPS should re-evaluate the criteria for selection. Recruits should be profiled to ensure that negative attitudes are not maintained or strengthened during the SAPS training programme. SAPS training and service should place emphasis on problem solving, culture, politics and the community to ensure that individuals can effortlessly manage problems that have surfaced. Training and development are fundamental in assisting SAPS officers to deal with coping techniques in order to avoid or prevent physical and psychological harm. It must me reiterated that attitudes in support of community interrelations are necessary and should be transferred down from top-level management.

Further research should be conducted on reactive and proactive officers and the roles and attitudes of persons holding different ranks and positions in the SAPS to determine their impact on police culture within the organisation. Future research, strategies and recommendations will always remain necessary in keeping the discourse on police culture and its impacts alive and current.

8.8 Conclusion

The study is significant in the sense that it recognises developments in the traditional attitudes of solidarity, cynicism and isolation. This study indicated a majority of similarities between reactive and proactive police officers' views and attitudes pertaining to specific statements within the survey. The study supports traditional conceptualisations of police culture, particularly because it was effective in identifying the complexities represented by police culture from the perspective of reactive and proactive officers. It is apparent from the research content that further research on other aspects of police culture ought to be conducted as a matter of urgency.

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Annexure: 1

30-Item Police Culture Questionnaire

Annexure: 2

Ethical Clearance

Annexure: 3

SAPS Approval